NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

FOURTH SERIES.] No. 9—VOL. V. BALTIMORE, OCT. 29, 1831. [VOL. XLI. WHOLE No. 1,049

THE PAST—THE PRESENT—FOR THE FUTURE.

EDITED, PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H. NILES, AT $5 PER ANNUM, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

☞THE TARIFF CONVENTION. At the meeting of the convention, which assembled in the city of New York, on Wednesday last, to consult on measures connected with the protection of domestic labor, delegates from thirteen states, and the District of Columbia appeared. At half past 10 o'clock, A. M. James Tallmadge, of the city of New York, was called to the chair, and Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore, appointed secretary, until the convention could be organized. A committee was then appointed, consisting of three persons from each state, to consider and report on the mode of organization. In conformity with the recommendation of this committee, the following officers were unanimously chosen, William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, president; Joseph Kent, of Maryland, James Tallmadge, of New York, George Blake, of Massachusetts, and Lewis Condict, of New Jersey, vice presidents; Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore, Robert Tillotson, of New York, Charles Payne, of Vermont, and Joseph H. Pierce, of New Hampshire, secretaries.

☞We stated in our last, that Henry Smyzer, of York county, Pa. had been elected to congress from that district—it should have been to the senate of the state legislature.

FINE WOOL. A letter addressed to the editor from the western part of New York, says, "wool has become a very important and the principal article of profit in this region. There are many fine flocks of sheep, of from 200 to 2,000—principally mixed merinos, and mixed with Saxon. While on this subject, allow me to make a few remarks on the growing of fine wool, in this country. Having formerly been engaged in that business in Saxony, and now for more than four years in this country, besides having been an importer of Saxon sheep three years previous to my settling and establishing a flock of pure electoral Saxon sheep here, I am enabled, from experience, to make a comparison between that and this country, as it regards that branch of agriculture. Sir, I do not doubt in the least, indeed, I am ready to demonstrate the fact, that this country is capable of producing as fine wool as there can be produced in Saxony. Every thing that nature can afford towards it, is abundantly supplied. All that is wanting now, in my humble opinion, is *experience*. Sheep have been greatly improved within seven years in this country, and but a few (say 10) years more, and it will produce fine wool enough to supply *home demand*. The protection on fine wool, however, is not in proportion to coarse wool, and may in some measure retard the improvement."

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT. A New York electioneering address, signed by James Lent, chairman, has the following sweeping paragraph:

"During former administrations, particularly that of Mr. Adams, various appropriations had been made for internal improvements. The benefits which New York was deriving from her enterprise in opening her canals, made other states and sections of the union desirous of possessing like advantages; and although the application by New York to congress for aid had been rejected, other applications by combining a sufficient number of interests to carry a majority have been successful. Millions had been expended by the United States for those objects, and when gen. Jackson came into office the improvements already projected, as proper for the application of the national funds, would have cost more than $200,000,000."

Why did not the maker of the address tell the people how many millions had been appropriated and paid for internal improvements, since the adoption of the constitution, that the people might be *alarmed* with the amount? But the 200 millions for works "already projected" would have had a small finish, had that truth been told. The getting-up of this estimate of works projected, was a disgraceful affair—and if not purely dishonest, criminally careless.

On the other hand, a writer in the "Albany Argus" of the 12th inst. speaking of the want of a sufficient depth of water for ship navigation to that city, which he anticipates, and, we hope, truly, will become a very important place of trade—says,

"Nor is there the least doubt that the navigation can be improved. Money alone is wanted: *and the United States would willingly give it if properly solicited.* Our city should be alive to this subject, and steps taken to have one or more of our citizens in Washington at the opening of the next session, to co-operate with our highly respectable representative in such measures as may be deemed best calculated to procure aid from that source.

"The state of New York will pay into the treasury of the nation this year something like *twenty millions* of dollars, in duties, and surely *one* or *two* hundred thousand would not be refused us, when the public benefit would be *so* great."

Very well. The Albanians shall have our best wishes for the success of their application. But the latter paragraph is not less of a *sweeping* character than that which Mr. Lent has certified to.

"The *state* of New York will pay into the treasury of the nation this year something like twenty millions of dollars!" Now, the phrase might have been corrected by saying the *city* of New York, and that again amended by naming a certain street in that city, and the whole accurately stated by decidedly saying, that *one* man, *Samuel Swartwout*, would pay the whole sum.

When some silly one spoke to Mr. Jefferson of the great revenue *paid* by New York to the national treasury—he said "remove the custom house across the river, and Paulus Hook will pay the same amount."

SMUGGLING OF SUGAR. *From the New Orleans Bee.* A new species of import has come to our knowledge, which, if tolerated, threatens ruin to the sugar growers of this state. It is a kind of syrup, which has not been sufficiently boiled to granulate, but contains more than two-thirds of sugar. One gallon of this syrup, from actual experiment, yields from eight to nine pounds of sugar. If, therefore, such an importation be allowed, it is evident that the sugar refiners, not the planters, will furnish us with sugar—the latter being unable to stand so formidable a competition. A recently imported cargo of this commodity has been seized by our collector, and we impatiently await the award of the court on this subject, which materially affects the interests of our state. If the seizure be not confirmed, the duty on sugar, is illusory, inasmuch as that obtained from the syrup pays something less than half a cent, instead of three cents imposed by the tariff. There is but little doubt but that a great quantity of this article has been introduced in the United States, and to attribute to this the depreciation of our sugars in the northern ports, is not an unreasonable supposition.

[It is stated that the treasury department has issued a circular directing that a duty shall be paid on this *liquid sugar* by the pound, as other sugar pays—so those that may be *caught* will make a bad speculation!]

VERMONT. Official returns of the votes for governor of this state—Mr. Palmer, anti-masonic, 15,258; Mr. Allen, national republican, 12,999; Mr. Meech, Jackson, 6,158—no choice. But the plurality system prevailing as to the council, the anti-masonic ticket fully succeeded. Mr. Palmer was elected governor by joint ballot—for him 114, for Mr. Allen 36, Mr. Meech 42

Mr. Crafts 35—majority for Palmer, *one*. Mr. Smith elected speaker of the house of representatives, and all the rest of the officers appointed are anti-masons.

IRA WOODMAN. The case of this postmaster in New Hampshire, is, at last, *settled!* From the "Statesman" of the 15th inst. We abstract the following account of it—if true, as described, there has been a criminal neglect in the officers whose duty it was to see that *justice* was rendered for an offence so prejudical to the "general welfare," and which *experience* teaches us has become more frequent than heretofore. We say this in all soberness for wrongs suffered.

Woodman, according to the "Statesman," was arrested for purloining a ten dollar note, of the Brighton bank, from a letter, and a true bill against him was found, (pretty nearly two years ago we believe), by the grand jury of Grafton county. When brought forward for trial, he was claimed by the United States attorney, Mr. Cushman, as having committed an offence against the United States, and accordingly given up and held to bail for his appearance. In the course of time, a true bill against Woodman was returned to the circuit court of the United States, but the U. S. attorney not proving the *existence* of the Brighton bank, it was not shewn that a larceny had been committed. The court, however, refused to discharge Woodman, having no doubt of his guilt, and the case was continued—one security being given in the sum of *one hundred dollars* that he should appear. The circuit court of the United States has just held another session, Woodman, having taken "leg bail" did not appear, and the surety is said not be worth a farthing. But the fact of a surety in the sum of $100, for so serious a charge, is one of the strongest things in the whole affair.

GOLD. One house in New York is said to have received 1,000 sovereigns from England. They were *not* remitted because of the exchange being against England! The difference between the value of these *sovereigns* in England, and as we rate *dollars*, is not less than 14 per cent. in favor of the former.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT. Daniel W. Pope, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Tobasco, in the United Mexican states.

John Martin Baker, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States for the port of Rio Janeiro, in Brazil, in place of W. H. D. C. Wright, removed at the request of the Brazilian government.

John K. Campbell, of Florida, to be attorney of the United States for the district of West Florida, vice Benjamin D. Wright, removed.

Alexander Thomson, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Glasgow, in Scotland, vice David Walker, deceased.

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. In the house of representatives of the state of Tennessee, now sitting, the following proceedings lately took place:—

Mr. McGaughey offered the following preamble and resolutions:—

Whereas, the charter of the United States bank will expire in the year 1836, and whereas it is believed that the stockholders in said bank will attempt to procure a re-charter of that institution—and whereas, it is believed by this general assembly, that it is not consistent with sound policy to extend the charter of said bank—Therefore,

Resolved, By the general assembly of the state of Tennessee, that our senators in congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to use all possible means to prevent the re-chartering of the bank of the United States, if any attempt should be made in congress for that purpose, before the next session of the general assembly of this state.

Resolved, That the secretary of state furnish a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution to each of our senators and pepresentatives in congress—and that they be printed with the acts of the present session of the general assembly.

2

Mr. Allen suggested that it would perhaps be better to appoint a committee on the affairs of the general government, to whom these and all similar propositions might be referred. He was opposed to all such interference on the part of the legislature, with business specially belonging to the federal government. He moved to lay the resolutions on the table, which was done accordingly.

INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS. The "Vigilance Association of Columbia," (South Carolina), composed of gentlemen of the first respectability, have offered a reward of *fifteen hundred dollars* for the apprehension and prosecution to conviction, of any white person who may be detected in distributing or circulating within that state the newspaper, called "The Liberator," printed in Boston, or the pamphlet called "Walker's Pamphlet," or any other publication of a seditious tendency.

[Is not, by far, too much importance attached to these publications? It can be accounted for only in the fearful and ardent feeling of the people in the south, because of their condition—and, indeed, from certain movements among the slaves in various states, there is much reason to apprehend no inconsiderable degree of concerted action, though extremely indigested and inefficient, except for very limited operations, though causing a general alarm, no one knowing where a blow might fall.]

THE CHOLERA. From the 19th June to 15th July, inclusive, 7,738 cases of this disease were recorded at St. Petersburg as having taken place—of these, 5,950 died and 2,139 were cured—the rest were removed, and their fate unknown.

Whole number of cases up to 1st August 8,281—known deaths 4,281. The disease was at its height 17 days after its appearance, and then began rapidly to decline, and was nearly extinct, at our last accounts from the Russian capital.

AN OFFICIAL WAG. The land commissioner of the city of Boston must be a right merry and shrewd wight. In a late report to the municipality, touching sundry lands lying between that city and the town of Roxbury, he states that a new road has been laid out across a part of those lands, leading from the *Neck* (the long street connecting that town with the city) striking the southern termination of Tremont street, of which avenue it is to be a continuation. This new portion will exceed two miles in length—three fourths of which is to be perfectly straight: the other half mile, says the commissioner, "which is nearest the city, is just *crooked* enough to remind travellers that they have arrived in Boston where every thing, I trust, will be found *straight* except the streets."

THE NEW ISLAND. The French government have despatched one of their ships of war to determine the latitude and longitude of the new island which has sprung up in the Sicilian sea, between Girgentum and Pantalaria. They have also sent some eminent geologists to examine the structure of the island—an object of much curiosity in the scientific world, as hitherto no opportunity has been afforded of carefully investigating an island of this description, they having in all instances sunk back into the sea before the opportunity was allowed for such examination.

BRIEF NOTICES.

"Gen. Nat." It is believed that this distinguished leader of the blacks at the massacre in Virginia, was drowned, in attempting to cross New river. So says a letter to the governor of the state.

Benjamin W. Richards, the excellent mayor of Philadelphia, has been unanimously re-elected by the councils.

Small Pox. A strange vessel landed two sick men at Machias, (Maine), 8th inst. and made off. One died and many persons having visited them, it was reported at Belfast, that *one hundred had taken the small pox.*

The earth is 2,048,572 miles nearer the sun in winter than in summer. Its motion is 17 miles in a second, so

that if a man pulls off his hat to another in the street, he goes many miles barehead without catching cold.

Wool. The imports of wool into this city for the two first quarters of 1831, are 1,116 751 lbs. The imports for the third quarter are *estimated* at 800,000. Total import for nine months, 1,716,751 lbs. [*Boston Pat.*

Levy of Catholic troops. The following extraordinary statement is extracted from the *Roman Catholic Magazine*, for August, 1831, under the head "Rome," page 445.—"We have heard from good authority that his holiness has, through the Núncio, Monsignor Spaddaccini, applied to the British government for permission to raise a body of 10,000 troops in Ireland, and that the application has been successful."

A printer in London has made an awkward attempt to evade the cost of stamped paper, by printing the news on *cotton*, and selling the Gazette under the name of "a political pocket handkerchief."

Coffee. It is stated that 8,500,000 lbs. of coffee are in the public stores at Boston, waiting the further reduction of a duty that will take place on the first of January next.

Canal celebration. The citizens of Chilicothe, Ohio, are preparing to celebrate in splendid style, the opening of canal navigation.

Rappahannock canal. The lower section of this canal is now navigable, and boats laden with timber arrive daily in the basin at Fredericksburgh, Va.

Medical use of gold. M. Legrand, an eminent French physician, has published a volume in Paris, on the use of gold in cases of syphilis. The article can be administered in various ways, and in doses amounting to one third of a grain per day, rubbed upon the tongue, in the shape of gold leaf, or the oxide of this metal, or the perchloride of gold, &c. It acts on the digestive organs, without weakening the system and produces an exhiliration of spirits.

Naval. The U. S. ship *Fairfield*, capt. NEWTON dropped down from the navy yard to the anchorage off town point, on Saturday last, preparatory to sailing for the West Indies. Com. ELLIOTT will embark in the Fairfield to resume the command of the U. S. naval force on that station.

The U. S. frigate *Brandywine*, com. BIDDLE, was at Toulon in August last, to sail soon for Marseilles.—Officers and crew all well. [*Norfolk Herald.*

FOREIGN NEWS.

An arrival at Baltimore brings Liverpool dates to the 13th of September.

POLAND AND RUSSIA.

The latest intelligence from Poland is to the 27th of August. The main Polish army had retired within the fortifications of Warsaw, after having sustained a loss of 1,400 or 1,500 men in a reconnaissance, owing to the imprudence of col. Legallois a French officer. Two corps had been detached into the pallatinates of Podlachia and Plozk. The former and the stronger under the French gen. Romarino, is believed in Paris to have gained a signal victory over a part of the army of Rudiger. One good effect of these diversions is, that the Poles have, in consequence, been enabled to introduce large supplies into Warsaw.

The dictator Krucowiecki, had restored order within the walls of Warsaw. Four of the persons engaged in the massacres of the 16th of August had been shot. Both armies are said to be anxious to come into conflict. Paskewitsch was hastening his preparations for decisive operations against Warsaw, wishing to avoid a recurrence of those disasters consequent upon a campaign in the winter, from the effects of which, Deibitsch, his predecessor, had suffered so severely.

The emperor Nicholas is said to have determined on listening to no mediation by other powers—any terms on the part of the Poles short of absolute submission, is, therefore superfluous.

The patriot clubs of Warsaw are represented as great evils; in the excess of their zeal, in the bloody affair of the 16th of August, they perpetrated the most frightful acts of atrocity. Neither age nor sex were spared by them, and their merciless deeds were perpetrated too in the name of liberty, and under the guise of patriotism. The conduct of the civic guards is represented as culpable in the extreme, and that their commander, count Ostrowski, declared, on coming up to the theatre of massacre, that arms were not placed in his hands to destroy his countrymen. The palace gates were then broken, and the populace aided by some of the guards.

"Gen. Jankowski was seized first and hanged on a lamp post.

"Soon after, generals Salacki, Hurtig and Bukowski, M. Fanshaw, chamberlain to the emperor, and madame Bazonow, were put to death in the same manner. The daughter of that lady was pierced through with a sabre for attempting to defend her mother. These unfortunate victims were mutilated after having been killed. The details are too horrid to be related.

"The rage of the assassins continued unrelenting. They proceeded to a prison in which were confined some agents of the old police, and afterwards to the house of correction, where they recommenced the carnage. Men imprisoned on slight charges, and strangers to politics, were murdered. About 60 individuals perished on that dreadful night.

"It appears that general Krucowiecki declared himself governor of the city, and that the national government confirmed him in that office the next morning. But his efforts were insufficient to arrest the anarchists, because there were no troops of the line at Warsaw, and because the civic guard could not be depended upon. Several murders were committed on the 16th;—at three o'clock in the afternoon, a Russian officer, who had been wounded and made prisoner, was taken out of a cart and hanged in the street, because it was reported that he was a Prussian: he was, however, a native of Courland.

The dictator had issued a proclamation, in which after stating that the diet had been forced by necessity to create a new government, founded upon the authority of the laws, adds, that it would act with all the vigor required by the existing circumstances of the country; that justice should be done towards all who were found guilty of having violated the laws. The count declares he will never sully the national glory, and will take care that, with the aid of the laws, criminal agitators, who were the best allies of the enemies of the country, shall be annihilated.

Report states that the brave Schrzynecki had entered the 4th regiment as a grenadier.

The Russians were reinforcing their army with great activity and it was thought would be able to increase its numbers from 25,000 to 30,000 in a few days; when that should be effected, it was thought Paskewitsch would make the assault on Warsaw. The cholera was at Berlin.

ENGLAND.

The coronation of William IV, took place with great pomp on the 8th Sept. Indisposition is said to have been the cause of the absence of the duchess of Kent and her daughter.

The reform bill, it is thought will pass the house of lords, though not without violent opposition.

A British squadron had sailed for the Tagus, for the purpose of redressing the injuries inflicted by the Portuguese government on British subjects.

The British sloop of war Alligator, from off Algiers on the 17th August, reports that the French a few days previously had an affair with the Bedouins, in which they sustained a loss of 600 men, and are said to be masters of only ten miles round Algiers, 2,500 of their troops were sick in the hospital, and others were constantly returning to France. The town was very badly supplied with provisions.

The Herald of the 12th says:—"The American packet ship President, captain Champlin, passed through Spithead yesterday evening, in 24 days from New York; she is a splendid vessel, and brings as passenger his excellency, the hon. M. Van Buren, ambassador from the United States to this country. He landed at Cows.

AUSTRIA.

The Austrian government had suppressed the insurrection in Hungary—Several concerned in it had been shot.

ITALY.

Tranquility had been restored, and the report of disturbances in Naples was not believed.

PORTUGAL.

It was said that the French and English governments would act as mediators between the government of Don Miguel and the refugees of Portugal.

FRANCE

There had been disturbances in Paris—a mob had attempted to destroy the machinery lately introduced into a factory. The armed force was called in and prevented its destruction. Some lamps were broken and other outrages committed—disturbances had also taken place at Blois and other places—order had been restored without any serious injury.

BRUSSELS.

The Brussels papers contain the opening speech of king Leopold to the new legislative body of Belgium. "This address, appears to have given general satisfaction in Brussels.—His majesty adroitly apologises for the disgraces of the late campaign by attributing them to the accidental superiority of the Dutch in point of discipline, and an unfair surprise upon his subjects; thus by at once saving the courage of the Belgians and assuring them of foreign protection, he seems to have found the shortest way to their good wishes. He very properly identifies himself with the nation, but the promises which he holds out on the thorny subject of the fortresses may hereafter lead to some awkward discussion. Hostilities had entirely ceased at Antwerp, and the Dutch were even showing a disposition to make the amende for the damage which they had already done to Belgian property."

—

An arrival at New York from Havre, brings advices direct from France to the 12th September. The disturbances in Paris as well as in the departments in the south of France had given some trouble to the police. They had, however, been suppressed without bloodshed, and things were assuming a tranquil state again. At Cleremont the prison was forced and its prisoners released.

There were reports of ministerial changes. M. Perier had declared that if the ordinance abolishing hereditary peerage should pass, he would retire. It was stated that should he resign, his place would be filled by M. Decazes, who was a minister of Louis XVIII.

The cholera was making alarming progress in Vienna, Berlin, Hungary and other places, and the government of France were taking active measures to prevent its introduction there.

By this arrival, as well as one at Norfolk, a report is brought, that Schrzynecki had assumed the chief command of the Polish army, and, on the 30th of August, had had an engagement with the Russian army under field marshal Paskewitsch, and compelled him to quit the position he occupied in front of Warsaw. The private correspondence by these arrivals make no mention of this battle, and we fear that it is not to be relied on.

The manufacturing establishments in France are in a prosperous situation.

Owing to the small quantities of grain brought to market, flour was dear in Paris.

An insurrectionary spirit had manifested itself in Switzerland, and the diet had taken strong measures to suppress it.

MANIFESTO OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AGAINST PRUSSIA.

"There are extreme circumstances which will not permit men to observe the conduct which otherwise they would willingly pursue.

"Can it be a reproach to the weak, that when on the point of perishing, they expose the false pretences, of those who, under the cloak of legal conduct, would effectually ensure their destruction, by aiding their adversary?

"The Poles have a right to say that the faith of nations is but an empty name, and that treaties and conventions have been invented only to cover the crimes of the powful with the mask of justice. The principle of non-intervention, for what does it serve, but as a pretext in the selfish policy adopted by the cabinets of the present day? How Austria has applied it in the disarming of Dwernicki's corps is known to Europe, and Europe remains silent. Prussia has violated, in a manner still more striking, a principle which, once adopted, ought to be adopted by all, or applied impartially.

"Often have we addressed to the cabinets, the guarantees of our rights, the most pressing representations; and all have been deaf to our voice. We cannot, indeed, demonstrate by judicial process the wrongs which we have suffered on the Prussian territory. They are, however, sufficiently proved by the most circumstantial details; of all proofs the most convincing is that furnished by the present position of the Russian army.

"Prussia, confident in our weakness, has done well to give evasive answers to all the governments who would seek to maintain, *bona fide*, the principle of non-intervention. She could not better disguise her conduct from incredulous cabinets, that they might be required to see the French at Warsaw, before they would believe in the concert subsisting between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and Berlin.

"The national government has received a report from the general-in-chief, announcing that the army of Paskewitsch is concentrated on the Lower Vistula, and extended in echelon, on the right side of the river, and resting upon the Prussian frontier. [Here follows a minute description of the then position of the army, since changed.] It results from the plan of operation adopted by general Paskewitsch, that in case of a check more or less severe, he could with difficulty regain the right bank, and, by consequence, must have the certainty of a secure retreat in Prussia, into which the quarantine will not hinder him long from penetrating, and where no Russian corps will experience the fate of general Dwernicki. This conduct of Prussia destroys all the advantages which we have acquired by so much devotion, and so much blood spilled all over the soil of Poland. It renders useless, we are bold to say, all the miracles of our courage.

"Our struggle has been an appeal to God; why attempt to influence his decrees, and lend to the strong more terrible arms for the purpose of crushiug the weak? Let it be known that it is not with Russia only we are engaged in combat. There was a time when the spectators of a conflict would have thought themselves guilty of a crime if they did not assist the weaker party—the world calls that time barbarous. At present two powers are seen conspiring against an unhappy nation, and the contest is looked upon with *sang froid*. The attacked nation has not even arms to defend itself, for Prussia, not content with having surrounded our frontiers for a long time with a factitious quarantine, checks the transport of every thing necessary for our defence. Such are the means resorted to in order to reduce us; this is the fair battle offered us by Russia, assisted by the Prussians. Their princes invoke the name of God in their proclamations—God is justice and equity, and invoking him to testify falsehood is committing perjury. Who can foresee the future? The princes who wish for our destruction may, perhaps, hereafter be pursued by misfortune, and, placed in situations of difficulty. Let them then recollect their conduct to Poland. How can we be silent while we experience such injustice. Our complaints must be published, that they may be a solemn manifesto against the conduct of Prussia. The world must know what we have complained of—what are the difficulties we have to conquer; and perhaps then the governments, which are deaf to the voice of justice and humanity, will be forced to admit that a people which has had the courage to support itself single-handed against such powerful enemies combined to annihilate it, is worthy of a free and independent existence."

SUPPLY AND PRICE OF COTTON.

The Columbia (S. C.) *Telescope*, contains the following statement, communicated by an intelligent and well informed merchant of that place: It exhibits a most discouraging prospect for the cotton grower; but when more of an article is produced than is requisite to supply the current demand, the surplus can only be disposed of by a reduction in price, so as to bring it within the compass of the means of those who could not before afford to purchase. So the quantity of cotton in market has been increased beyond the demand at which it bore

a price that paid the producer a handsome profit; and the manufacturer will not buy it unless he can make some profit on his labor—while *his* prices are reduced to the lowest, in order to extend the sale of his manufactures in a ratio with the increase of the raw material. In the present glutted state of the cotton market, some *hope* of relief may be entertained from the present agitated condition of Brazil—a decline of 2 or 300,000 bales in the exports of that country, would, perhaps, *advance the price of our crop in the whole amount of the value of that quantity*—for nothing can be more clear than that too much cotton is grown to permit large profits to the cultivator. The principle in this case is applicable to every business. In 1829, because of the excessive manufactures of coarse cotton yarns, how general was the distress, how mighty the ruin of the *cotton spinners?* What was the remedy? The spinning of finer yarns, and in the very great extension of the print-works, calling for large supplies for calicoes, &c. and so the spinning became a good business again. What would be the price of flour, if only the capital and labor employed in making *iron* in Pennsylvania were applied to the growing of wheat—by making the land rich, producing 25 or 30 bushels to the acre instead of about 10? Flour would not sell for three dollars a barrel—for there is *no demand* for the one or two millions of barrels that so much additional capital and labor would produce. Over-production is the real cause of the decline of price for cotton. Do away the cultivation of the cane in *Louisiana*, and no man, however favorable his circumstances may be, can raise a pound of cotton in *South Carolina*, without a great loss and ultimate ruin—though in Louisiana, because of the richer land and a better article, the planters might yet make a living.

The remarks about ship building may suit the meredian of a little inland town, like Columbia. This valuable branch of industry was feebly carried on, because there were more ships than business—there had been an over-production of them. But when business a little revived, and only a little, the want of this was discovered and the value of them rapidly advanced, and now, notwithstanding the "*enormous duties on materials for ship-building*," that business was never more brisk than it is now, and it will remain lively until the demand is supplied; and then if there be not an extensive war in Europe, it will fall back to the building of vessels chiefly for the coasting trade, as before.

From the Columbia Telescope, Aug. 23.

The prospects for the coming crop with regard to price are gloomy. Accounts from England up to the 8th of last month, left it selling from 4¾ to 6¼d. average 5½d. sterling.

The following statement will shew what that would enable the Charleston shipper to pay, merely to cover cost.

5½d. is equal to cts.		10,17
Charges.		
Insurance, loss of weight, petty charges and commissions 12½ per cent.	1,27	
Freight at 5-8d. per lb. and primage 5 per cent. thereon,	1,21	
Duty per lb. 5-8d.	1,15	
		3,63
		6,54
Add exchange 8 per cent.		52
Nett sales,		7,06

Planters in the interior may after allowing charges to market and commissions to factors estimate what their crops will probably yield. The freight to England is put down at 5-8 per lb.—this is much under what has been paid for the growth of 1830. For that of 1831, unless a plentiful supply of *British* shipping arrive, the rate of freight will be very high. Owing to enormous duties on materials for ship building, few ships have been built at home while the produce to be carried has greatly increased, vessels from loss and decay have diminished, and we must rely on foreign shipping to carry a great part of our crops.

There is now no doubt that the new duty will be laid on—it will therefore behove the planters to be very particular in handling their cotton, to have it put up in the best possible manner, for the worst cotton pays the same duty as the best; for example, the duty on cotton which might bring 6d. is 10½ per cent. on what sells at 3d. it would be 21 per cent. In France the duty on upland is 3 cents, on Sea Island 5 cents.

ARKWRIGHT.

A MARKET OPENED!

From the Buffalo Advertiser.

The most profitable way of selling American flour, and pot and pearl ashes, to the manufacturers of England.

It is well known to commercial men that the merchants of Canada have a *legal right* to sell the wheat and flour, *produced in the provinces*, in the markets of England, for consumption in that country, on payment of a small duty; which *right* they exercise to great extent, because they usually find it profitable. They also, (and all other persons), have the *legal right* of importing flour into Montreal and Quebec from Rochester, and other parts of the United States, *without paying any duty.* When the *average* price of English wheat in England, is *over* 67 shillings sterling per quarter of 8 bushels; or $1 86 per bushel of 70 lbs. the duty there on colonial wheat is only 6 pence sterling per quarter, and on colonial flour only 4 pence per bbl.—when the *average* price is *under* 67*s.* the duty is increased to 5*s.* sterling per quarter on wheat and 3*s.* 1*d.* per bbl. on flour, which is the *highest* duty required by the existing law on *colonial* wheat and flour. At the same average price, or when the price is 67*s.* per quarter and under 68*s.* the duty in England on wheat and flour from New York and all other foreign ports, is 18*s.* 8*d.* sterling per quarter on wheat, 11*s.* 3*d.* per bbl. on flour.

The *practice* at Montreal and Quebec is, to collect as much *Canadian* wheat and flour as possible, and sell the same for shipment to England; it being worth more for that purpose than any other. A second operation is to import from the United States, and sell for consumption in the provinces, and for exportation to the West Indies, as much *American* flour as practicable.

Thus the *American* flour from the western country, supplies the place of *that* which is admitted into England for consumption, on payment of *a small* duty; which approximates to the advantage of a direct admission *there*, at the same duty. Since the 15th of May last, the shipments of *Canadian* wheat and flour from Montreal and Quebec, amount to about 1,150,000 bushels of wheat and 41,256 bbls. of flour.

It is probable that this large export will make a steady and good market at Montreal for American flour. American pot and pearl ashes *from Montreal*, are admitted into England free; no duty being required; while those from New York and all other foreign ports, pay a duty of 6*s.* sterling per 112 lbs. or $26 64 per ton. R.

THE LATE MAJOR BIDDLE.

At a meeting of the officers of the United States' army, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, held at the messroom of the sixth regiment, on the 4th September, 1831 brigadier general Atkinson was called to the chair, and capt. H. Smith, 6th regt. appointed secretary. The object of the meeting was then stated by the chairman, to wit, to take into consideration the propriety of an expression of the feelings of the meeting, in the death of major Thomas Biddle. Whereupon, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting—

And brig. gen. Leavenworth, major Riley, and capt. Palmer, of the 6th regt. capt. Harrison, of the 3rd regt. and capt. Rogers, of the 6th regt. were appointed that committee. The committee having retired for that purpose, prepared and submitted the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted, viz.

Whereas, a recent melancholy event, deeply to be regretted by the whole community (and particularly by the members of the army) both as to the cause of its origin and its result, has taken from the army a gallant and distinguished officer, and from among us an esteemed and respected friend: Therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting unfeignedly deplore the loss of their estimable fellow soldier, the late maj. Tho-

mas Biddle, an officer who had gallantly distinguished himself in the field against the enemies of his country and whose untimely death now calls forth our deepest sympathies.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect for his memory, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for 30 days.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the chairman and secretary, and a copy forwarded to the family of our late friend, with our sincere condolence for their irreparable loss.

H. ATKINSON, *brig. gen. U. S. A. chairman.*
H. SMITH, *capt. 6th reg't, secretary.*

FREE TRADE CONVENTION.

List of the delegates who took their seats in the free trade convention, prior to October 5.

Maine.—Joshua Carpenter, *Castine;* Charles Q. Clapp, S. H. Mudge.—Total 3.

Massachusetts.—Henry Lee. Samuel Swett, John L. Gardner, Henry Williams Edward Croft, William Goddard, Ebenezer Breed, William Foster, *Boston;* T. S. Pomeroy, Horatio Byington, Theodore Sedgwick, *Stockbridge;* George Peabody, Pickering Dodge, Joseph Ropes, Thomas P. Bancroft, Gideon Tucker, John W. Rogers, Isaac Newball, *Salem.*—18.

Connecticut.—William G. Forbes, James Donaghe, *New Haven.*—2.

Rhode Island.—William Hunter.—1.

New York.—Preserved Fish, Jonathan Goodhue, Thomas R. Mercein, John A. Stevens, Isaac Carow, James Boorman, George Griswold, Benjamin L. Swan, M. H. Grinnell, George T. Trimble, Zebedee Ring, Albert Gallatin, John S. Crary, Jacob Lorillard, James G. King, Charles H. Russell, Henry Kneeland, Isaac Bronson, *city of New York;* John Leonard, Edward Bergh, Samuel P. Brown, John Constable, John Aug. Smith.—23.

New Jersey.—Henry Clow, John C. Schenck, John Potter, Henry Vethake, John R. Thomson, of *Princeton;* C. L. Hardenburg, J. C. Van Dyck, John Bayard Kirkpatrick, Miles C. Smith.—9.

Pennsylvania.—Joseph R. Evans, George Emlen, Clement C. Biddle, Edward Ingraham, J. M. Barclay, E. Littell, Samuel Smith, Isaac W. Norris, Richard Price, Henry R. Watson, Thomas P. Cope, John A. Brown, Philip H. Nicklin, Condy Raguet, Samuel Spackman, of *Philadelphia.*—15.

Maryland.—William H. Handy, Arnold D. Jones —2.

Virginia.—Philip P. Barbour, *Orange county;* Henry E. Watkins, Richard Booker, *Prince Edward county;* James M. Garnett, *Essex county;* Samuel L. Venable, *Charlotte county;* Thomas R. Dew, Burwell Bassett, *Williamsburg;* Walker Hawes, *King William county;* Philip A. Dew, *King and Queen;* Thomas Miller, *Powlattan county;* William G. Overton, Malcolm McFarland, *Lunenberg county;* George C. Dromgoole, *Brunswick county;* Randolph Harrison, *Cumberland county;* Robert Yancey, rev. Robert Hurt, *Halifax co.;* Ferdinand W. Risque, H. R. Anderson, Richard Jones, *Nottaway;* Josiah Ellis, Dr. Charles Everett, Thomas W. Gilmer, Charles Cocke, *Albemarle;* Alex. Gordon Knox, William Townes, William O. Goode, *Mecklenburg;* Charles D. Melndoe, James S. Brander, *Petersburg;* William Maxwell, John Tabb, *Norfolk;* Benjamin F. Dabney, *King William county;* R. D. Grayson, *Stafford county;* William P. Taylor, John Dickinson, John H. Bernard, *Caroline county;* Thomas T. Giles, *Amelia county;* James Lyons, *Richmond;* James Jones, *Nottaway;* James Magruder, Benjamin H. Magruder, *Fluvanna county;* John W. Jones, *Chesterfield county;* S. A. Storrow, Henry H. Watts, William B. Rogers, Linn Banks, William H. Roane, Archibald Bryce, jr., William Daniel, jr., S. H. Davis, John Brockenbrough, George M. Payne.—51.

N. Carolina.—Joseph B. Skinner, S. T. Sawyer, *Edenton;* Charles Fisher, *Salisbury;* James Iredell, Joseph D. White, David Outlaw, Joseph B. G. Roulhac, *Bertie county;* William A. Blount, *Washington county;* John E. Wood, *Hertford county;* J. W. Cochran, *Fayetteville;* Louis D. Wilson, William R. Holt, Wm. W. Jones, Edward B. Dudley, Thomas S. Hoskins, Robert C. G. Hilliard.—16.

South Carolina.—Zachariah P. Heradon, *Union c. h.;* James G. Spann, *Sumpter;* F. W. Davie, *Chester c. h.;* James Cuthbert, Wm. Pope, *Coosawatchie;* Thomas Pinckney, Wm. Butler, *Pendleton;* T. D. Singleton, *Williamsburg district;* Joseph W. Allston, W. Wilkinson, Philip Tidyman, Thomas R. Mitchell, W. A. Alston, T. Pinckney Alston, Henry A. Middleton, *Georgetown;* Charles Macbeth, Langdon Cheves, John Frazer, James Lynch, Chancellor Harper, Wm. C. Preston, Daniel E. Huger, Hugh S. Legare, Thompson T Player, Henry N. Cruger, A. P. Butler, Henry Middleton, *Charleston;* Henry C. Young, *Laurens c. h.;* Stephen D. Miller, *Lancaster c. h.;* Job Johnson, *Newberry dist.;* John D. Edwards, J. H. Glover, *Walterborough;* John D. Carter, *Camden;* John Taylor, Edward Richardson, *Richland district;* Wm. Smith, *York district;* J. Berkley Grimbal, James Rose, Thomas William Smith, Thomas Williams, jr., Joseph E. Jenkins, Hugh Wilson.—41.

Georgia.—Eli S. Shorter, Seaborn Jones, *Athens;* Robert Habersham, Alexander Telfair, John Cumming, John Macpherson Berrien, *Savannah.*—6.

Alabama.—John A. Elmore, Benijah S. Bibb, Howell Rose, Philemon Waters, Henry Goldthwaite, Alfred V. Scott, *Lowndes county;* John W. Moore, Enoch Parsons, *Monroe and Conecuh counties;* Wm. J. Mason, *Limestone county;* Ward Taylor, Archibald P. Baldwin.—11.

Mississippi.—George Poindexter.—1.

Tennessee.—Wm. E. Butler, Alexander Patton.—2.

☞ This list is made up in the following manner: The "Philadelphia Gazette" (which seems to have been *as if* the official paper of the convention), of the 28th September, contained the names of all the delegates then known at Philadelphia to have been appointed, being 365 nominations in all; and to these were attached their several places of residence. A subsequent paper gave the names of those who attended, up to the 5th October—and those gentlemen who are without a *location* in the list above, have residences unknwn to us—some, perhaps, were *tales*-men, picked up, as from several states, because they *happened* to be in Philadelphia at the time, to make a *full representation!* We say "perhaps"—but regard the residence of gentlemen as of some importance. in the matter before us. Look at Virginia, for example—nearly all the delegates are from the little tide-water counties: and New York does not shew one delegate except from the city.

[We do not give the list as correct—but have closely examined the materials furnished to make it so—and if error is, we hope that it is not in us.]

ADDRESS OF THE ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

From the New York Whig.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

Fellow citizens:

A large and growing political party, through us, respectfully addresses you. Numerous bodies of enlightened and honest freemen, in states containing more than half the electors of our union, have openly and fairly delegated us to represent them, in the performance of duties, which cannot fail to affect your essential rights. And believing that your rights are inseparably blended with theirs, we seek, most earnestly, so to perform these duties, as to produce effects equally and extensively beneficial upon the rights of all. These duties consist in nominating citizens to be supported, as candidates for the offices of president, and vice president, of the United States, at the next election, and in setting forth the grounds, on which you are invited to sustain the nomination.

The concurrence of millions of men, in any act of deliberation or decision, for objects, in which they have a common interest, presents to the mind a magnificent and exciting spectacle. If the men be intelligent, patriotic, and free, and the object be that of appointing the most suitable of their number, to guard the rights, and advance the prosperity, of the nation, which they constitute, human life can rarely exhibit a spectacle of equal interest and sublimity. Scarcely any approach towards such an exhibition has ever been witnessed, in any coun-

try, but ours. Let it be our ambition, so to continue and improve the exhibition, in all its stated recurrences, as shall more and more commend it to the approbation and esteem of the great brotherhood of communities, to which we belong, and most effectually tend to the establishment and support of free principles, in every community of our fellow men.

In selecting candidates for the highest offices, in the gift of the people, it is essential to consider—the peculiar frame and objects of our government—the personal qualifications of the candidates—the principles, which should govern their administration—the sources of danger to these principles—and the means of removing that danger. On each of these considerations, we wish to offer our opinions with that ingenuousness, fullness, and earnestness, which become freemen, in addressing their equals and brethren, upon subjects involving their dearest hopes, and most imperative duties.

Government has always been a business of the highest importance. In every form, it has exercised a mighty influence upon the individual and collective condition of its subjects. In most countries, it has generally been the prey of crafty and fortunate violence; and wielded for partial and selfish objects. With such an origin and such an object, it was impossible that it should not be the parent of innumerable mischiefs. But bad as it has been, it has not been without its advantages; and these have greatly outweighed its evils. Without government, there could have been no extensive associations among men. Their conflicting interests and passions, would have produced universal collisions, so fierce and frequent, as to have prevented much increase; and the human race would have existed, at this day, only in the condition of a few scattered, ignorant, indigent, feeble, ferocious, and insecure families. To raise them above this condition, government was absolutely indispensable.

The great use of government is to secure rights—all the rights of those, who unite in its formation. These are comprehended in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To the security of these, order is essential. Order cannot be maintained without a common and definitive arbiter of the differences, that may arise between the individuals composing a nation, and a power to protect the whole against external aggression. Such an arbiter and power is government; which, to be perfect, should be just, intelligent, free from the bias of self interest, and effective, as to all the objects for which it is constituted. But such a government never existed. And so long as men are ignorant, selfish, and passionate, never will exist among them. The nearest possible approximation to such a government is a republic.

A republic acknowledges the rights of all, and seeks to avail itself of the wisdom and power of all, to promote their common welfare. Its theory is perfect. It is founded upon the proper basis, pursues the proper end, and employs the proper means. And by the principles of elective representation and accountability, it may be so extended as ultimately to combine all nations —if not into one family—into a friendly association of several peaceful, prosperous, and numerous families. If right, duty, wisdom, and power, can contribute to the real exaltation and happiness of man; and if government can combine and apply them most comprehensively and beneficially to the regulation of human conduct, then republicanism offers a more majestic and reverend image of substantial glory, than can otherwise result, from the labors, and sufferings, and virtues of our race. It is a practical scheme of universal benevolence, sure to be approved, embraced, and sustained, by all men, in proportion to the just prevalence, in their minds, of intelligence, truth, and philanthropy. Such a government is the one, under which, it is our privilege to live.

Where it is the distinctive object of government to bring the public wisdom to the direction of the public will, for the public good; and the people understand their rights, their duties, and their interests, a designation to fill the high places of its administration, by a majority of their free voices, is the most precious reward, of earthly origin, which can be bestowed upon intellectual and moral merit; and imposes an accountability exactly proportioned to its value. No step should be taken towards its bestowment, without a lively and generous solicitude.

The qualities, which should be possessed, by every president of the U. States, are the most estimable, that can adorn a man. He should be industrious. No great end of human life can be obtained without great effort. Every thing, which is good in the character and condition of man, is progressive, and cannot be otherwise. Knowledge, virtue, safety, happiness, are attainments, not gifts, nor inheritances. They are the slowly maturing, but precious fruits of exertion; not the capricious or unsought bounties of earth, or heaven. Free government, the most complicated and expansive good, that can spring from human effort, has not been acquired, and cannot be preserved, without perpetual and strenuous exertion. The chief magistrate of this government must therefore, be willing and accustomed to labor. Honest labor is always honorable. In the president of the U. States, it is most honorable, because his labor is consecrated to the noblest purposes that can be advanced by human means, and requires the employment of the highest qualities, that can animate the soul.

He should be intelligent. The objects and provisions of our government, in all its relations both foreign and domestic—the sources of its power, and the means of its support—the history of its origin, its establishment, its trials, and its fruits, are topics of inquiry and meditation more pregnant with valuable instruction to the genuine friends of man, than all others supplied by civil records. They are themes of enlightened examination, discussion, and admiration, every where. And the most respectable nations of the old world are now agonising to disabuse themselves of their ancient, burthensome, and unequal institutions, for the sake of following our example. To understand these topics, will well repay the efforts, it may cost, to every mind. It is an essential part of the education of every freeman. In him, who is entrusted with the most responsible application of all the knowledge they infold, to the holy purposes of rightful order and social advancement, it is equally the dictate of duty, self-respect, and honorable ambition, to understand them familiarly, and in all their details. Such understanding can be obtained, only by diligent study, deep reflection, candid observation, wise intercourse, and practical experience.

He should be honest. His conduct should be a perfect exemplification of the solemn claims of truth and right, in all his communications and influences, and of the strictest fidelity to the prescribed duties of his office. His manners should be plain, direct, and cordial, both in his official and private relations—the transcript of an upright, pure and benevolent mind, and suitable to aid in the accomplishment of all his grave and exalted functions. The greatest crime, which can be committed against freemen is the usurpation of power. It should be deemed the unpardonable sin of republics. It has been the unfathomable deep in which all the footsteps of liberty, in other countries, have been swallowed up, in all ancient and modern times. To it, the highest place of delegated powers affords both the most temptation, and the most probable means of success. Whoever fills that place should, therefore, be strong in honesty. If he yields to the temptation, and seeks to employ the means, entrusted to him only for the benefit of his fellow citizens, in endeavors, to raise himself upon their ruin, he should be branded like another Cain. His memory should be held in the most intense and immortal detestation.

He should be independent, following his own convictions of right, and not shrinking from any of his appropriate responsibilities. He should be swayed by no private and illegitimate influences, and never seek to cast his burthens upon others. In every act of the power lawfully assigned him, he should stand forth, as the personal agent of the public will, and answerable to all its just demands.

He should be vigilant. Our freedom, though well secured, may be invaded. In all other countries, freedom has been successfully invaded. Ours is too valuable, and has been too dearly purchased, to omit any means of its preservation. Without eternal vigilance, in all its sentinels, no means will be sufficient. With an awakened eye to every part of his charge, he who occupies the highest watch-tower of the nation, should carefully

mark all the indications of good or evil, which may affect it, and weigh them well, the better to secure the objects of his care.

He should be wise in judgment. To this end, patient examination, cool deliberation, and impartial affections are requisite. Accordingly, he should be in the customary use of them. His judgment is the great hinge of good or evil to millions. It should not therefore be hasty, wavering, or weak; but well informed, faithful and firm.

He should be prudent. This quality refers more to action than to speculation, but includes both; and consists in a sagacious foresight of evils, and an effective application of means to avoid them, as well as in an enlightened anticipation of benefits, and adequate efforts to secure them. It is an exalted merit; not often brilliant in its means, because they are such as common sense enjoins, and therefore excite no wonder; but blessed in its effects, because under all circumstances it leads to the utmost attainable good. Prudence obtains less praise than it deserves, because it is often confounded with the partial and sordid purpose, to which it may be made subservient.

He should be disinterested and patriotic. Yielding himself to the wishes of his fellow citizens for the momentous task of their leading civil service, he should in all its specifications and labors, lose himself in them. Their rights, their safety, their happiness, should be his undeviating aim. Regarding them as his political brethren and principals, he will be intent upon promoting their interests. In this way, he will secure his own. And grateful to them for his elevation to the noblest and widest sphere of beneficent exertion, to which wisdom and virtue can aspire, in this world, he will labor, unceasingly, for the good of his country. With a country distinguished above all others—for its exemption from time-honored abuses either civil, ecclesiastical or military—for the self-directing, and self-relying habits of its people—for its ingenuity and enterprise, in all the walks of productive industry—for its force and steadiness of resolve, in pursuit of practical utility—for its just distribution of social respect and honor—for its high and equal valuation of individual rights—for its anxiety and ability to disseminate useful knowledge, among all its children—for the spirit of improvement incorporated in its frame of government, exciting to the discovery, and inviting to the adoption, of every new and useful principle, and method of operation—for its unparalleled advancement in wealth, numbers, and strength—for its facilities of enlargement over half a continent, and of influence over all the world—for the adaptation of its employments, purposes, and institutions, to the rights of man—for its large and increasing enjoyment of the esteem and favor of nations—and for its glorious hopes of perpetuity, it would be as natural as it would be necessary, that he should be a patriot. It would seem impossible for him to be otherwise. Penetrated with a just sense of the dignity and importance of his great trust, he should endeavor to discharge it, with parental and equal regard to every section and member of the national family.

What should be the principles of his administration? Such certainly as are found in the fundamental doctrines of the republic, and are best calculated to harmonise order and right. As drawn from our constitutions and illustrated by the writings and examples of our sages, they are chiefly the following—equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state, condition, or persuasion, religious or political—peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none—the support of the state governments, in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad—a sacred regard to the principles and spirit of our union, which make us one people, and have been the essential means of our national power, honor, prosperity and freedom, as much as they were of the successful assertion of our national independence—acquiescence in the decisions of the majorty, even if deemed wrongful, till they can be lawfully changed, by the influence of intelligence and patriotism; such acquiescence being the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism—a well organised militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened—the honest payment of our debts and careful preservation of the public faith—encouragement of the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, that every branch of productive industry may be profitable, protected and respected—the diffusion of information, by the reasonable patronage of elementary schools, and scientific establishments, as well as by the publicity of all governmental transactions, with those temporary exceptions only, which are dictated by prudence, in relation to foreign intercourse, and the initiatory steps in prosecuting crime—the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason—the strict accountability of placemen and frequent rotation in office—the unbroken dominion of the laws over all men, whether private citizens, public officers, or associations of both—the prompt and lawful application of all the necessary powers of government to secure the liberty and life of any citizen from criminal invasion, when it is known to be threatened, and the most strenuous and persevering exertion, on all occasions, to disclose and bring to legal punishment, the perpetraters of crime; for liberty has no existence, but in name, where the government is unwilling, or unable, to withstand the enterprises of faction and crime, whether proceeding in secret or in public; confine each member of the society, and association of members, within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all, in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property. There are yet other rights of the people of which his administration should manifest a zealous care—that of political equality, implying general suffrage, and eligibility to office—of the independent and safe application of the right of voting to all cases, which the people shall think proper, as in this way it may become the mild and safe corrective of abuses, which must be lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided—of freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus; of trial by juries and judges impartial in their obligations and impartially selected; and of security in person, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. These seem to us the essential principles of our freedom. They have been raised out of the precious mine of human rights, by the labors of ages; and having disengaged them from the rubbish and dross, under which all the workings of ignorance, faction and tyranny, would keep them eternally buried, by the most pure-hearted, arduous, and sagacious exertions, our political fathers have combined and set them up, for our shelter and guidance. Let us never be unmindful of them. We can have nothing of so much worth. They are the most brilliant jewels of our nation already rich and renowned. We cannot overvalue them. But, unlike the shining baubles of ostentatious and unrighteous power, they are valuable in their use. In that alone are they good; and their most important use is, to be made the touchstone of the merits of those we trust.

Are these principles in danger? Every candid man, who will enquire, must think so. They were never in danger so imminent. Their foe is rich, disciplined, and wily. He obeys no rules of civilized warfare, no restraint of truth, no injustice, no pleadings of humanity. He already occupies the principal posts heretofore relied on, as the chief defence of our liberty; every where lies in wait to deceive; endeavors to poison the springs of resistance to him; seduces the unwary, disloyal, and sordid, by flattery, lucrative employment, and offers of preferment; intimidates the irresolute and weak, by haughty exhibitions of his power; and assails by a thousand ambuscades, and by all sorts of weapons the most envenomed and condemned, the watchful, thoughtful, steadfast, and unconquerable friends of free principles. Such a foe is freemasonry.

This appears incredible to honest unreflecting men, till they fairly understand the character of freemasonry,

and ascertain its conduct. Whenever they do this, the incredibility vanishes; they join the great rally of anti-masons, and work with one mind and untiring zeal, in all the way of law and honor, for its abolition. The disinclination to take up impressions of evil against it arises, almost wholly, from the fair characters of some men, who have been connected with it, and from the support of it, by interested politicians, and the presses under its control.

Honorable men have joined it, in early life. Incited by unsuspected representations of its purity and value, and by curiosity to explore a mystery, they surrendered themselves to the wish of its members, and offered to be conducted into its dark chambers. Of these we know some stopped at the threshold; some, in the first degree; some in the second; and more, in the third. None of them knew any thing of its peculiar ceremonies, oaths, or objects, till they had sworn to conceal them. They have often praised the virtues it claimed, for they loved virtue, and hoped the claim was just. But they never imbibed its spirit, or knowingly approved its principles. From the first step of their initiation, they always suspected both. If they did not, we should have heard from some of the ten thousand conscientious and patriotic seceders, who have opened the door upon all its proceedings, of fathers leading their sons to the masonic altar. Among them all, the seceders have probably witnessed admissions into nearly every lodge in the union. No one has told you, that he ever assisted at the initiation of his own son, or knew any other father do so, in relation to his son. Is not this a most honest, legible, and fatal condemnation of the order, derived from witnesses the most competent and credible though unwilling—even from the very hearts of its adhering members? What! would not a father initiate his son, the pride of his life, the hope of his age, the object of his prayers, into an association of honorable men most exclusively designed, and most wisely adapted, to the inculcation of science, charity, religion? How have good fathers done, who have become freemasons? Let each one look around among his acquaintances, and recall his past observation, for the answer. They have discontinued attendance upon the lodges. They have preferred other schools of science, for their children. They have resorted to better means of impressing the love and practice of charity upon their hearts. They have looked higher for their religion. Either the best of fathers, who had joined the lodge, were anti-masons in the bottom of their hearts, knowing the institution to be a base imposture; or they hated their children.

But how have members, who were most distinguished for public honor and private virtue out of the lodge, conducted, in relation to it? Franklin is said to have replied to his brother, who asked his advice about joining the society, "one fool is enough in a family." When the reputable and benevolent Jeremy Gridley, was grand master of the Massachusetts masons, before the most criminal degrees of the order were known in our country, he was enquired of, by a young friend, whether it was worth his while to become a mason? and he answered NO—with this pregnant addition, "by aggregation to the society a young man might acquire a little *artificial* support, but that *he* did not need it; and there was *nothing* in the masonic institution *worthy of his seeking to be associated with it.*" The enquirer, afterwards, by his bold and freedom-freighted thoughts, and the high bearing of his devoted expression of them, was the most prominent agent in carrying the declaration of independence, in the illustrious congress of '76.

But, Washington, and his brother officers of glorious memory, were masons. True. They were admitted to three degrees. None of them went higher, in the early days of our independence. Washington never visited a lodge but once or twice after 1768; and never presided in one. He afterwards in effect, renounced it; and so did a large majority of the officers before alluded to, in their voluntary determination to extinguish the Cincinnati society. To this society they were bound by stronger ties than masonry can offer to uncorrupted minds—by those of a natural and general and generous sympathy, of which the golden links were struck out and forged, in the welding fires of our revolutionary war.

The origin of this society was innocent; its objects were laudable; its laws were published; its meetings were not secret; it administered no oaths, imposed no bloody penalties, had no division into degrees, and its members were respected and honored as the benefactors of their country; but it introduced distinctions between its members and other citizens; its associates wore badges, a ribbon and eagle; it was hereditary; admitted honorary members; and had funds for charity. Thus constituted all the whigs of the country, in civil life, as soon as it was known to them, opposed it, as eminently dangerous to liberty. It had no political objects. The conduct of its members, and the true purpose of the association were excellent. But it was liable to abuse. Political means were resorted to, for its abolition. Governors of states denounced it; legislative bodies expressed their opposition to it, by resolutions; assemblies of private citizens reprobated it; the press sternly and universally rebuked it; the whole country was excited to a flame against it.

Washington soon became sensible that it might produce political evils, which the pure and strong motives, in which it originated, had hidden from the observation of its members. And he attended its first annual meeting determined to exert all his influence for its suppression. He did so exert it. And the order was on the point of being annihilated by the vote of *the great majority* of its members. Its complete annihilation was prevented, only by a sense of courtesy and consistency towards their foreign brother officers, whom the members had officially and formally invited to join it, before they had well considered the abuses of which it was susceptible, and the political tendencies, which it might foster. They did destroy its essential features, by resolving that the order should be no longer hereditary, and that no new members should be admitted. They discontinued wearing its badges, in this country; and left nothing of its existence, but its name, its meetings, which were changed from being annual to triennial, and its charitable funds, which were ordered to be deposited with the state legislatures. This fundamental modification, with the well known cause of its continuance, in the shape it was made to assume by its own members, appeased the public; though Jeffefferson, and many others, expressed a decided disapprobation of its continuance at all.

Compare this society with freemasonry, in its motives, its origin, its degrading ceremonies, its accumulation of titles, its numerous expressive though fantastic badges; its exacting obedience in the lower degrees, and irresponsible authority in the higher; its secrecy; its oaths; its penalties; its claims of exclusive allegiance; its long list of degrees; its means of private recognition, command, and universal concert; its affiliation with members in all foreign countries; its numbers; its boasted power; its crimes, and the pertinacity with which it is sustained, by its adhering members; and it is impossible not to be convinced, that it is exceedingly dangerous; and that those, who were willing to renounce the Cincinnati society, would be compelled, by the same patriotic motives, which controlled them, in that act, if they had lived till now, to renounce freemasonry. They would have insisted upon its total abrogation. It must be abrogated.

The unavoidable inference drawn by every prudent man, from observing the conduct of its best members, in all past time, is, that its character is bad. This inference is greatly strengthened, by the intelligible hints and friendly advice of the most trust worthy among them. It should be ripened into unhesitating conviction by a consideration of the secrecy, which it enjoins. *Standing secrecy always implies shame and guilt.* It is utterly inconsistent with social improvement, confidence and happiness. All the decendants of Adam inherit his nature. While he was innocent, he was ingenuous, communicative, without the need, or the desire, of concealment. For the first crime he committed, even before the sentence of banishment from Paradise, was pronounced upon him, he sought concealment.

But we are not left to our own reasonable inferences, or to hints, and a few honest but guarded expressions, from its members, to decide upon the character of freemasonry. That character has been revealed, under

oath, by its adhering members, and by a great band of seceders. And how does it stand? Infamous beyond all parallel in human annals. Its principles are vicious, murderous, treasonable; and so far as they prevail, fatally hostile to those of our government.

In the first degree, the candidate pledges himself under oath, and upon forfeiture of his life if he does not redeem the pledge, to ever conceal and never reveal the secrets of freemasory, which he has then received, is about to receive, or may thereafter be instructed in. Among the secrets, which the candidate may, and must be instructed in, if he takes the second degree, is that of his pledge of passive obedience to the laws of the lodge, and all regular summonses sent him by a brother of that degree. If he takes the third degree, among those secrets are pledges to fly to the relief of a brother of that degree, when masonically required so to do, at the risk of life, should there be a great probability of saving the life of the brother requiring, than of losing his own—to apprise a brother of all approaching danger if possible—and to conceal the secrets of a brother master mason, when communicated to him as such, murder and treason only excepted, and they left at his discretion. And if he takes the royal arch degree, among those secrets are pledges—to extricate a brother of that degree from danger, if he can, whether that brother be right or wrong—to promote* his political preferment before that of all others of equal qualifications—and to conceal his secrets, murder and treason not excepted. Thus is the concealment of crimes made a masonic duty; and the candidates expressly disclaim all equivocation, mental reservation, or evasion of mind, both in the first degree, and in the last.

How do these parts of masonry affect the moral character of its members? In the first degree, and every other, no man knows any of its obligations, till after he has sworn to conceal them. It is a first principle in morals, that there is no accountability without knowledge and free will. Such oaths, therefore, are not binding, and no forms, or objects, or solemnities, can make them so. But what is the purpose of the order, in the ceremony of imposing them? Can it be good? It is certainly such as can be accomplished only by men divested of all sense of accountability. The less of this sense the better, for all the purposes of fraud and crime—and the more of it the better, for all the purposes of integrity and virtue. These are truths, which nobody can gainsay. All the history of piety, on the one hand, and of sin on the other, asserts them. They are obvious to the common sense of all men. This proceeding of freemasonry, is, therefore, obviously in hostility to good morals. It is more than that. To take such an oath deliberately and with an intent to perform it, is an attempt at the voluntary extinguishment of the highest rights of the soul, and a complete foreclosure of the source of every duty. It is not possible to imagine a more aggravated crime. Rape, murder, treason, may be repented of, and their perpetrators reclaimed. But to forego the rights of knowledge and volition, in regard to every proposition, which can be offered to a moral agent, amounts to a desperate erasure of the image of God from the breast. It would necessarily preclude repentance, reformation, pardon, hope; and be death, in its most unutterable horrors. It would be as much worse than common suicide, as the value of the immortal spirit is greater than that of the corruptible body.

In the degrees, higher than the royal arch, the members swear to oppose the interest, derange the business, and destroy the reputation, of unfaithful brethren, through life,—to prefer the interests of a companion of the order, and of a companion's friend, for whom he pleads, to those of any mere man of the world, in matters of difference submitted to them—never to engage in mean party strife, nor conspiracies against the government or religion of their country, *whereby their reputation may suffer*, nor ever to associate with dishonorable men, for a moment, EXCEPT *it be to secure* the interest of such person, his family, or friends, to a companion, whose necessities require this *degradation* at their hands—to follow strictly every command of the illustrious knights, and grand commander, and especially to *sacrifice the traitors of masonry.*

Have these points of masonic obligation any political bearing? All the rights of man are founded in his moral nature. It is the intention of free government to secure him in the possession of these rights. Whatever is hostile to good morals is therefore opposed to the civil policy of freemen. We have seen large numbers of the most intelligent, wealthy, and respectable freemasons in New York, deliberating in their lodges and elsewhere, on the means of suppressing a written disclosure of their secrets, by one of their number—we have seen notices of a slanderous character, simultaneously printed, a few days before the seizure and murder of Morgan, in newspapers a hundred miles apart, warning the public against the designs of the author of this disclosure and especially directed to the masonic brotherhood—about the same time we have seen masons set fire to a building prepared by them with peculiar care for sudden combustion, because it was supposed to contain this disclosure in manuscript—we have seen them employ a masonic printer, who was a stranger and an alien, to go into the office where it was printing, with the offer to aid in that work by labor and money, for the sole purpose of stealing the manuscript—we have afterwards seen them kidnap the writer of it, carry him hoodwinked and bound, with the greatest secrecy and caution, through a great extent of populous country, to a fort of the United States—unlawfully and forcibly imprison him there—collect together in frequent deliberation, upon the means of his final disposition—communicate, while in this situation, with several members of a chapter of their body, then numerously attended in the neighborhood—and resolve unanimously, though with painful reluctance, on the part of some, that their masonic obligations required them to murder him; not for any offence against the state, but for the sole cause of his attempting to publish the secrets of the order, which he had a lawful right to do, and which, considering their character, he was bound to do, by every consideration of private morality and fidelity to his country. On the night of the 19th of September, 1826, they accordingly murdered him. To this fearful consummation none were privy, but those who had as masons, sworn to assist each other, right or wrong, and to conceal each other's murder and treason. After the murder, all the precaution possible was taken for concealing it; but this not being wholly successful, and legal prosecutions being threatened, the criminals frequently met and consulted together, for their mutual safety. The most influential among them insisted, that if called by the legal authorities of our country to testify, they one and all must swear they knew nothing of the matter; otherwise they would be forsworn to masonry and might lose the life they would thus forfeit. As witnesses, as magistrates, as sheriffs, as grand jurors, as petit jurors, as legislators, these masons and others with whom they were intimate, *would* know nothing of it. In all their civil relations they violated their oaths and the most sacred duties. They flew to each other's assistance knowing their criminality. They gave each other notice of the approaching danger of legal prosecution. They spirited away witnesses who, they feared, would disclose too much. They perjured themselves in court. They contumaciously refused to answer questions decided to be legal. They declined to answer, on the ground, that if they should, they would criminate themselves in relation to the murder. They prevented the judicial ascertainment, and punishment of the foulest criminals. They made common cause in behalf of these criminals, against the rights of the citizen, and the laws of the land. Thousands of them were acquainted with some of the steps of these crimes against the state. Hundreds of them know the leading malefactors.

A good citizen cannot look on with indifference and see a fellow freeman kidnapped and murdered. He cannot know that such crimes are successfully protected, by an extensive, artful, and powerful conspiracy, without being excited against it. The sympathies of a patriot embrace his whole country. The poorest man, the most defenceless woman, the weakest child in it, cannot be assailed with unlawful violence, without quickening his pulse, and stiffening his sinews, with indignation. His blood is up in every case of high crime; and it keeps

*This pledge is sometimes omitted in the royal arch degree; and sometimes included in the master's degree.

up against the aggressor, till the law performs its office upon him. To the law he is willing to submit, because he knows it is the deliberate expression of the public will for the public good; the great shield spread by the hands of all, over the rights of all.

Individual rights are, separately considered, of immeasurable and indefinable worth. They partake of the infinitude of moral existence and responsibility. As contemplated by our government, a single individual, and one as much as another, is an august being, entitled to inviolable reverence, and bearing upon him the badges of a most majestic origin, and the stamp of most transcendant destinations. His safety, his liberty, his life, his improvement, his happiness, it designs, at all times and places, faithfully to protect, by the application of all its delegated means. The law is the beneficial instrument of this protection, and should be appreciated by every reflecting man as the sacred, living, and most venerable expression of the national mind and will. Break this, and the nation has but one right left, which it can peaceably enforce, the right of suffrage.

The masonic institution is answerable for the crimes to which we have referred. They were committed in obedience to its prescribed and specific oaths, and in fear of its penalties. The man-stealing and murder, were for no other than a masonic offence. The whole array of its frightful crimes, out of court, and in court, were no other than necessary means of carrying into effect the obligations it has deliberately and universally exacted of its members. All who uphold the obligations, uphold the crimes. No adhering mason has afforded the least willing assistance to the exposure and punishment of them. No lodge or chapter has called the criminals to account. Many of them are known to the public. Chesebore, and Sawyer, and Lawson, and Bruce, and Whitney, have been convicted of the conspiracy to kidnap, and have been condemned and suffered infamous punishments, and the very murderers are known with moral, though not with strict judicial certainty. Not one of these men have been expelled. The grand lodge or grand chapter of which they were members, has the power of expulsion, but has declined to exercise it in relation to them; and such of them as are still living, are, in masonic estimation, worthy members of the order.

But the fraternity have gone much farther to make that crime their own. In 1827 the grand lodge gave 100 dollars to one of its members then under public accusation for kidnapping Morgan, and afterwards convicted of that offence; and the grand chapter, by its vote, placed 1,000 dollars at the control of another of its members, ostensibly for charitable uses, of which a part has been proved, in a court of justice, to have been applied for the benefit of other kidnappers; and the trustee of the charity has never been called to an account by the grand chapter, for any part of the sum, though in all other cases such accountability is enforced by the chapter. The records of this last body, apparently relating to this transaction, have been produced in court, and were seen to be mutilated.

The fraternity have also employed and paid able counsel to defend the criminals.

In this way, while the chief magistrate of the state of New York was, by proclamation, offering money, for the conviction of the offenders, the highest masonic bodies, in that state, were offering, and in their associate capacity actually paying money to protect and support them. Can it be justly thought surprising, then, that so few convictions have followed upon such enormous offences, and that no more of the facts have been ascertained in legal form?

The criminals, in all these atrocities, testified their devotion to the institution, and by its own laws are only the more entitled to its guardian care, by all the hazards they involved. That care has been extended to them in every form of expression tending to their relief and comfort. Besides the exertions of their brethren already alluded to, adhering masons have, at great expense, established and circulated newspapers to vilify all who were engaged in exposing the crimes, and to call into action the entire resources of the fraternity, in behalf of those who committed them. These newspapers have, with the most unblushing hardihood, asserted the innocence and praised the virtues of the convicts, several of whom they knew to have confessed their offences. They have commended the most stubborn refusal in court to reveal the truth by masonic witnesses, *as manly firmness.* They have in every form of misrepresentation, which they could devise, labored to darken all knowledge of the facts relating to the outrages; and to blot out the moral sense of the community.

Hundreds of the brethren in different counties in the state of New York, have published addresses, under their names, in which they have deliberately contradicted facts established judicially, by many of their adhering brethren and by many seceding masons; and which, under the sanction of a lawful oath, and subject to cross examination before the public, they would be compelled to admit. Similar falsehoods have been published in an address of a committee of the grand lodge of Rhode Island—and the grand secretary of the grand lodge of New York has recently issued an official letter, in which he represents that body as extending its dependants, confident in its strength, and determined to outbrave all the consequences of their detected guilt, and the public indignation. Nothing could account for this universal course of falsehood, but the unhappy truth, that the men who are engaged in it, have sworn, under the penalty of death, to conceal the secrets of freemasonry, a most essential branch of which consists in the crimes of its members. This course is countenanced by the president of the U. States, who is a mason, and who has recently appointed as heads of the departments in the national government, a majority of distinguished masons. One of these heads of departments—the post master general, the only one retained of the late cabinet, has removed a large number of his most competent and faithful deputies, in New York, for the sole cause of the zeal and patiotism with which they sought to bring into just disrepute the crimes and institution of freemasonry.

The course of these transactions is rapidly corroding and wearing away the very basis of all public and private virtue in our country; and eradicating that mutual confidence, upon which the business of life, its peace, and its enjoyments essentially depend. When men refuse to bear testimony in court, to public offences, of which they know the perpetrators, and are praised for it—when they perjure themselves, and are not disgraced—when they are convicted of a conspiracy to kidnap a free citizen, and are applauded as victims to the prejudices of their countrymen—when the distinctions between right and wrong are practically superseded, by the systematic and solemn injunctions of a wealthy, intelligent, numerous and powerful society, diffused and sustaining itself in all the places of social influence and honor—when in pursuance of this injunction, the laws of the land, in the solemn places of their judicial application for the admonition and punishment of the most flagrant offences, are foully baffled, set aside and scorned—then, the social fabric is trembling—then there can be but one alternative, that of reform or ruin—then, looking beyond, but not forgetting, all the considerations of attachment to the policy of encouraging this or that branch of national industry—this or that scheme of financial management,—this or that exposition of the principles of our political organization—this or that object of all our foreign and domestic policy, the considerate friend of his country will govern himself primarily, by the obvious necessity to which he is reduced of preserving for his country the power of determining for itself upon any course of policy, and of disengaging the heart of the body politic from the fangs of a monster more blood thirsty, remorseless and insatiable, than any, which has ever come to prey upon the hopes of man.

There is a bearing of freemasonry, not yet embraced in this address, which is replete with the most distressing apprehensions. There is located, in Boston, a masonic body denominated the African grand lodge, which dates its origin before the American revolution, and derived its existence from a Scottish duke. This body acknowledges no allegiance to any of the associations of American masonry. Its authority is co-extensive with our union. It has already granted many charters to

African lodges. We are afraid to intimate their location, to look in upon their proceedings, to count their inmates, or to specify their resources.

What are the means of removing these dangers? The dangers are confined to no one place, in our country, and to no one department of our social interests; but extend to all places, and infect every department. Common prudence demands, that the means should be capable of reaching them, wherever they exist, and susceptible of a safe application, in their utmost extent. Such means we have; and we are familiar with their use. They consist in the honest exercise of the right of suffrage, and the most patriotic employment of official patronage. The evils of freemasonry operate upon the moral and political condition of the nation, and can be removed only by moral and political means. It is the exalted excellence of our political institutions, that they are especially designed and adapted to secure our rights, all of which pertain to us as moral beings. In voting, every elector should always be governed by a knowledge of his rights, and the desire of preserving them. There can be no higher political duty than this.

But the use of our right of suffrage against freemasonry is termed proscription. Proscription cannot be imputed to a party, because it justly opposes what is wrong. It is not proscription to be resolute and active in detecting and denouncing opinions of which the obvious tendency is to unhinge society; or to resist, by every lawful means, the influence of men, who commit crimes, and confederate to support each other in their commission. To call such detection, denunciation and resistance, proscription, could never satisfy an honest mind. It would be like stigmatising, with an opprobrious epithet, those public benefactors, who teach men, that all violations of duty are criminal and disreputable, and make their best exertions to discourage them. Proscription can apply only to those, who oppose and lessen the influence of their fellow citizens, because they innocently and with good motives, think and act differently from themselves. Such proscription deserves reprehension, because it invades the equal rights of others, and is averse to the improvement and happiness of all.

The offences of freemasonry upon our individual and national rights, if they had been committed by a foreign nation would, by the law of nations, have justified a public war to avenge them. Shall we fall in love with crime because those who commit it are near us? Shall we spare the destroyer because we can subdue him peaceably? Freemasonry can be destroyed by the votes of freemen, and by nothing else. All who are truly opposed to it, will always vote against it. And they deceive nobody but themselves, who profess opposition to it, and yet dare not express that opposition by their vote.

No good reason has been rendered, or can be rendered, why a freeman, who is opposed to freemasonary, should not vote against it. The application of the right of suffrage against it is just, peaceable, effective and may be as comprehensive as the evils which alarm us. And no other means can be described, or imagined which unite these characteristics. Voting is the only decisive means by which public opinion can be distinctly ascertained upon the subject. And since many persons not initiated into the society, openly connect themselves with its fortunes, and make every exertion in their power to sustain it, by their votes, we cannot safely, if we would, betake ourselves to any other resort but the ballot boxes for its destruction. These persons affect to consider themselves as entitled to the praise of all candid and unexcited minds, by the course which they adopt; and profess to be neither masons nor anti-masons; claiming the respect of the community for their indifference to its rights and welfare. If it had not been for the support of the order, by interested and profligate politicians, who were not members, the forfeiture of public confidence justly incurred, by its crimes, would have been so carried home to the minds of its most worthy members, as long ago to have induced its entire dissolution. It is an undoubted fact, that the men, who are neither masons nor anti-masons, are answerable for the continuance of the order. They have kept it from sinking into annihilation by its sins, and are thus equally censurable with its members. No association of men, however impudent and hardened, can withstand, for years, the indignant, well founded, universal rebuke of their fellow citizens. So treated, the worst members would be driven from the face of the sun, and from public observation, into the fastnesses and caves of the earth, to take upon themselves the skulking habits, along with the flagitious purposes, of felons; and the best would be compelled to abandon it.

It is attempted to make anti-masonary odious, because it is political. But these attempts must recoil upon those with whom they originate. None but tyrants can think the use of political means degrading. And there seems to be peculiar effrontry required to impeach it, in a country where every thing most memorable, in its history has been inseparably connected with political movement, and every thing most animating in its prospects, is dependent upon political action and superversion. The exertions of our fathers to establish our independence, were political exertions. Even the revolutionary war and the war of 1812, were waged for political objects. The constitutions, by which our civil and religious rights are secured, are political constitutions. And this independence, these constitutions, and rights, can be preserved and perpetuated only by political means.

Voting for our public servants is the highest exercise of sovereign power known in our land. It is the paramount distinctive privilege of freemen. In countries where only a small minority of the people are authorised to vote, if oppressive measures are adopted, by their rulers, they must either submit, or fight. In countries where all the citizens are authorised to vote, if they are oppressed, they can throw off the oppression, by their votes. And if the frowns of power, or the calumnies of malefactors have force to dissuade them from using their votes to throw it off, they are fit for slaves, and can be only slaves. The highest functionaries of the general and state governments are amenable to the people, for the proper discharge of their duties. But a freeman, when he votes for a candidate, exercises the right of selecting, among those who are eligible, subject to no authority under heaven. For his choice, he is accountable only to his conscience and his God. And why should he not, in the most sovereign act he can perform, do himself the great justice of giving expression to the honest conviction of his soul? If having the will, he cannot do it, he is a slave. If having the power, he will not do it, he is corrupt.

An enlightened exercise of the right of suffrage is the constitutional and equitable mode adopted by the anti-masons to remove the evils they suffer, and produce the reforms they seek. But this mode, to be availing, must include a judicious selection of candidates. After diligent inquiry and mature deliberation we have selected, and now nominate, for your support, as a candidate for the office of president of the United States, at the next election,

WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland;

And for vice president,

AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania.

These citizens we deem eminently possessed of the qualifications before set forth, as most essential for the offices, with which they have associated their names—and confident of their devoted attachment to the principles of administration contained in this address, and their concurrence in our views of the crimes of freemasonry, and the necessity of their removal, by directing against them the sovereign and free remedy of public suffrage, and the bestowment of official favors, we earnestly recommend them to your support. Their election would be a great step towards the rescue of our republic from the odious and formidable power which endangers it; and we will labor to accomplish it, in the spirit of freemen. In this labor we invite you to participate.

Our free principles cannot be preserved without constant vigilance, and a continuance of the same disinterested and determined action, by which they were established. They are the best possession of the rich, and the only wealth of the poor. They are the common and peculiar property of the nation, embracing all its rights, its virtues and its fortunes.

Neither the price of our liberties nor their fruits will permit them to be regarded without emotion, by any

intelligent mind. They have been purchased by ages of just, and earnest thought, of brave and generous effort, of vicissitude, and suffering, and blood. Nor have they been purchased in vain. They have taught man to form a just estimate of his own worth, and of that of his fellow beings, to estimate the value of a reasonable and responsible creature, not by the place which he may hold in an artificial and unnatural state of society, but solely by the faculties conferred upon him, by his Maker, and the intelligence and virtues of his character. And while they have abased the proud from his stilted and haughty elevation, they have brought up the poor to the exalted standard of human rights and human hopes; and thus opened the way for the whole family of man, "to run the great career of justice." We have set out first in this career. Let us remove every impediment, which would obstruct our progress in it, and by the attractions of our success invite all nations to embrace it. If we are true to ourselves, our institutions, our fathers and our posterity, this is to be our glorious destiny.—The influence of our example is already great. In our foreign conflicts and negotiations, our vigor, prudence, and wisdom, have made us respected and illustrious. Let not these qualities be wanting in their proper domestic applications, that the value of our example may be enhanced, and its influence increased. Providence has manifestly cast upon us the high responsibility of determining the most interesting problem of social life, that of man's capacity for self-government. If we suppress all unsocial conspiracy and selfish faction, from within, as we hitherto have done all dictation and tyranny from without, we shall determine it in favor of liberty. Such a determination the great and good of every nation expect from us; and they are beginning, in the face of all their foes, to hazard upon it, their possessions, their honor and their lives. Let us neither disappoint them, nor betray ourselves. A disinterested and faithful adherence to the principles which we inculcate, and to the modes of sustaining them, which we recommend, becomes both our cause and our responsibility; and irresistably commending itself to the honest and the free, it will give that cause success. If it fails, then, right, duty, improvement, self-government, happiness, are phantoms. We shall be compelled to repudiate the memory of our immortal sires, and forego the great inheritance they have bequeathed us. But it will not fail. Freedom is not more the friend of man, than the favorite of heaven. It is equally our highest glory, our most sacred duty, our most assured hope and our promised possession.

MAINE.

Levi Cram, Bangor, Penobscot county.
Hanes Learned, Gardner, Kennebec county.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Caleb Emery, Lyman, Grafton county.

VERMONT.

Josiah Rising, Rupert, (West) Bennington county.
Samuel C. Loveland, Reading, Windsor county.
Charles Davis, Danville, Caledonia county.
Joseph H. Brainerd, St. Alban's, Franklin county.
Edward D. Barber, Middleburry, Addison county.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Abner Phelps, Boston.
Amasa Walker, do.
Benjamin V. French, do.
Stephen Oliver, Lynn, Essex county.
Alpheus Bigelow, Weston, Middlesex county.
Nathan Lazell, jr. Bridgewater, Plymouth county.
Joseph Morton, Milton, Norfolk county.
John Bailey, Dorchester, do. (P. O. Milton,)
Micha H. Ruggles, Troy, Bristol co. (P. O. Fall river.)
Hiram Manly, Easton, do.
Gardner Burbank, Worcester, Worcester county.
Samuel B. Barlow, Granville, Hampden county.
Epaphras Hoyt, Deerfield, Franklin county.
Nahum Hardy, Waltham, Middlesex county.

RHODE ISLAND.

William Sprague, Cranston, Providence co. (P. O. Providence.)
George Turner, Newport, Newport county.
Benjamin F. Hallett, Providence.
Walter Paine, jr. do.

CONNECTICUT.

Smith Wilkinson, Pomfret, Windham county.
John Boynton, South Coventry, Tolland county.
Samuel Kellogg, Colchester, New London county.
Henry Halsey, Windsor, Hartford county.
Henry Terry, Plymouth, Litchfield county.
Sheldon C. Leavitt, Bethlem, do.

NEW YORK.

Henry Cotheal, New York city.
Henry Dana Ward, do.
William Howard, do.
Robert Townsend, jr. do.
Samuel St. John, do.
Samuel A. Foote, do.
Jonathan Ferris, Cortlandt, Westchester, (P. O. Peekskill.)
Thomas S. Lockwood, Fallsburgh, Sullivan county.
James Burt, Warwick, Orange county.
Silas Stone, Hudson, Columbia county.
Joseph Case, Petersburgh, Rensselaer county, (P. O. Hoosick.)
Samuel M. Hopkins, Albany.
David Russell, Salem, Washington county.
Samuel Partridge, Postdam, St. Lawrence county.
Reuben Goodale, Watertown, Jefferson county.
John C. Morris, Butternuts, Otsego county.
Gamaliel H. Barstow, Nicholls, Tioga county.
James Geddess, Onondaga, Onondago county, (P. O. Geddes.)
John C. Spencer, Canandaigua, Ontario county.
Evert Van Buren, Pennyan, Yates county.
Elijah Miller, Auburn, Cayuga county.
Phineas L. Tracy, Batavia, Genesee county.
Philo C. Fuller, Geneseo Livingston county.
John Birdsall, Chautauque, Chautauque county, (P. O. Mayville.)
George H. Boughton, Lockport, Niagara county.
Thomas Beekman, Peterboro, Madison county.
Samuel P. Lyman, Utica, Oneida county.
Samuel S. Seward, Warwick, Orange county, (P. O. Florida.)
James S. Wadsworth, Geneseo, Livingston county.
William H. Seward, Auburn, Cayuga county.
Nicholas Devereux, Utica, Oneida county.
Myron Holley, Lyons, Wayne county.
Tilly Lynde, Sherburn, Chenango county.
Charles W. Lynde, Homer, Cortland county.
Timothy Childs, Rochester, Monroe county.
Noble D. Strong, Auburn, Cayuga county.
Wm. G. Verplanck, Ballston Spa, Saratoga county.

NEW JERSEY.

John Rutherford, Lodi, Bergen county, (P. O. Belville Essex county.)
James Vanderpool, Newark, Essex county.
John H. Voorhees, Boundbrook, Somerset county.
John Alling, Newark, Essex county.
William Vanderpool, do.
Joseph Northrop.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Harman Denny, Pittsburgh, Alleghany county.
John Clarke, Philadelphia.
John R. Jones, do.
William Grimshaw, do.
Charles Waters, do.
Samuel Parke, Lancaster.
Owen Stover, Westchester, Chester county.
George Smith, (Haverford P. O.) Delaware county.
James Paul, (P. O. Willowgrove,) Montgomery co.
Thomas Elder, Harrisburgh, Dauphin county.
Christian Pretz, Allentown, Lehigh.
Samuel Leidy, Lower Saucon, Northampton county.
John Burrows, Montoursville, Lycoming county.
Jacob Alter, (Carlisle, P. O.) Cumberland county.
Jacob Cassatt, Gettysburg, Adams county.
Charles Ogle, Somerset, Somerset county.
Jacob B. Miller, Uniontown, Fayette county.
Samuel McKeehan, West Alexandria, Washington co.
William W. Irwin, Pittsburg, Alleghany county.
Joseph Buffington, Kittaning, Armstrong county.
Robert Falconer, Warren, Warren county.
Charles Diel, Windsor, York.
Samuel Harvey, Germantown, Philadelphia county.
William Heister, New Holland, Lancaster county.

Benjamin Riegle, Monroe, P. O. Bucks county.
Thomas H. Burrowes, Lancaster city.
Thaddeus Stevens, Gettysburg, Adams county.
Thomas C. Hambly, York, York county.

OHIO.

Jonathan Sloane, Ravenna, Portage county.
Jonathan Warner, Jefferson, Ashtabula county.
Warren Jenkins, Columbus, Franklin county.
Ziba Lindly, jr. Athens, Athens county.
Nathaniel Kidder, Rush, Champaign county.
Robert Hanna, Cadiz, Harrison county.
Franklin Baker, Seneca county.
James Pike, Columbus, Franklin county.
Frederick W. Fowler, Milan, Huron county.

DELAWARE.

Joshua V. Gibbins, Wilmington, Newcastle county.

MARYLAND.

John S. Shriver, Baltimore.

THE MISSIONARIES.

From the (Georgia). Recorder of September 24.

TRIAL OF THE MISSIONARIES, &c.

Our correspondent writes to us from Lawrenceville on the 16th instant as follows:

"An interesting trial took place yesterday before the superior court of this county, in the cases of the state against Elizur Butler, Samuel A. Worcester, James Trott, missionaries, and eight other white men, residents of the Cherokee country, the latter with but one exception, have intermarried with Cherokee women.

They were all arraigned and tried for living in the territory occupied by the Cherokees within the chartered limits of Georgia, in violation of a law passed at the last session of the legislature, which required them to take an oath to support the constitution and laws of the state. It was contended by council in their behalf, that the law was unconstitutional; that the state had no right to exercise jurisdiction over that territory, and to make such an exaction of them, inasmuch as it was not required of other citizens. The counsel for the state insisted that it had been the uniform practice for years past, to enforce the criminal jurisdiction of the state over that section of country; that individuals similarly situated had been punished for a violation of the laws; they cited authorities to prove the right of the state in this respect, and that other states had, under precisely similar circumstances, exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. A jury had been selected from a full pannel about 9 o'clock in the morning, supposed to be as impartial and as little biased by prejudice as any that could be obtained. The argument did not close until after 12 o'clock at night. Judge Clayton then adverted to the evidence in the case, pronounced the law under which the prisoners were arraigned, to be, in his opinion, clearly constitutional, cited instances of decisions in similar cases heretofore determined, and directed the jury to decide for themselves from the evidence in the case, as to their guilt or innocence. The jury after fifteen minutes absence, returned, finding the whole *guilty*. The prisoners were to-day sentenced to undergo four years imprisonment in the penitentiary. When they were arraigned to receive sentence, and the question was put by the court why it should not be pronounced, Mr. *Worcester* rose and replied to the following effect,—if not in the precise words:

"*May it please the court*—If I am guilty of the charges which have been made against me in the argument of this case, but not alleged in the indictment, then I have nothing to say why the sentence of the law should not be pronounced against me—But I aver before my God and my country, that I am not guilty of those charges. I therefore say what I have heretofore said, that the state of Georgia has no right of jurisdiction over the territory in which I reside, and therefore this court has no right to pass sentence upon me."

It has been intimated here that these prisoners act under the advice of *high counsel*—that their case is expected to be removed by writ of error and they released—some of them not desiring the executive clemency.

Counsel for the prisoners, Messrs. Harden, Chester, Harris and Underwood. For the state, Messrs. Solicitor Trippe, Hutchings and Holt. Mr. Mounger also addressed the jury, but merely with the view of cautioning them against being influenced by any degree of prejudice in their decision."

Sentence of the court.

The state, vs. *The missionaries,* } *Indictment, In Gwinnett superior court.*

Verdict—Guilty.

As I sincerely believe this prosecution has been sought and endured, I will not say in an unchristian temper, but certainly in a great spirit of opposition to the laws, for political effect, I deem it my duty to make a few remarks on this occasion, not by way of vindication of the public authorities, for they need none, but to prevent a misdirection of public opinion, and with a hope that it may undeceive many an ignorant and innocent individual, who has been seduced into a similar transgression, by the high example of this undutiful disobedience. I mean no reproaches, the penalty of the law is punishment enough for the offence, and my respect for misfortune always inclines me the rather to reduce than increase its sufferings. I shall speak a free and decided language, unmixed however, with the least temper of unkindness. Foreseeing, as I think I do, one of the main objects of this singular perverseness, I will endeavor, as far as in my power to counteract it by a full and plain history of the case. I will not pretend to discuss the right of jurisdiction; that matter is settled; but that every body may see the true nature of this whole transaction, I proceed to give the following particulars: In the year 1825, the late venerable president Monroe, communicated to congress, the design which had been the subject of deep reflection by that benevolent sage, of ameliorating the condition of the Indians found on the east of the Mississippi, by way as he emphatically expressed, "of atonement alike due from our justice and humanity, for the long train of injuries inflicted on that race, by the discovery and settlement of America." I wish my limits would justify my presenting the whole of that valuable document, but I can only give a few of its outlines. He commences thus: "being deeply impressed with the opinion that the *removal* of the Indian tribes, from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several states and territories, to the country lying westward and northward thereof, *is of very high importance to our union*, and may be accomplished in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of these tribes, the attention of the government has been long drawn with great solicitude to the object. For the removal of the tribes within the limits of Georgia, the motive has been peculiarly strong, arising from the compact with that state!" After stating many considerations in favor of this plan, such as the future peace and contentment of the Indians; their removal from all the causes which disturb their quiet, harrass their peace, oppose their religious instruction, and finally prevent their civilization, he adds, "experience has clearly demonstrated, that in their present state it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against the dangers to which they are exposed under causes which it will be difficult if not impossible to control, their *degradation and extermination* will be inevitable." Though as he thought they might be greatly attached to their native soil, from a variety of motives, yet "to prevent intrusion on their property, to teach them by regular instruction,, the arts of civilized life, and to form them into a regular government, were considerations of so powerful a nature, as to induce them, and especially their elders, who had attained sufficient intelligence to discern the progress of events, to acquiesce in the plan, and by yielding to momentary sacrifices, secure their families and posterity from inevitable destruction." "To the United States, (he said) the proposed arrangement offers many important advantages in addition to those already enumerated. By the establishment of such a government over these tribes, with their consent, we become in reality, their benefactors. The relation of conflicting interests which has heretofore existed between them, and our frontier settlements, will cease. There will be no more wars between them and the United States. And it may be fairly presumed that through the agency of such a government, the condition of all the tribes inhabiting that vast region to the Pacific, may be essentially improved, their peace preserved, and our commerce extended." Here then is the beginning and foundation of that wise and humane policy laid by the general government, so worthy of the head and heart that conceived it for the final redemption of the debt of justice, due to this unfortunate people. Is it not just? Is it not humane? Ought it to be frustrated? I put these questions to all considerate and reflecting minds. But this is not all; this policy has the sanction of other great names. Mr. Calhoun in the same year as secretary of war, made a report to congress on the same subject, and stated among other facts, that the whole nation of Indians to be removed in the United States, did not exceed 92,000, (about the population of Rhode Island), and that the sum of 95,000 dollars would effect the object, and concluded by a declaration that if fixed principles were adopted to effect the object, such as had been suggested by the president and himself, the "basis of a system might be laid, which in a few years would entirely effect the object in view, to the mutual benefit of the government and the Indians, and which in its operations would effectually arrest the calamitous course of events, to which they must be subject without a radical change in the present system." The next statesman we find recommending this highly benevolent object, is president Adams, and in accordance with his views, the committee on Indian affairs, to whom that part of his message was referred, called upon Mr. Barbour then secretary of war, for such report and specific plan as was best calculated to accomplish the purpose. He drafted a law for the committee, and submitted it with very able and judicious remarks, warmly supporting the plan, and enforcing it by a variety of considerations replete with justice and wisdom. Among which he urged that "next to the advantages to be gained by ourselves, the future residence of these people will be forever undisturbed, that there at least they will find a home, and a resting place, and being exclusively under the control of the United States, and consequently free from the rival claims of any of the states, the former may plight its most solemn faith that it shall be theirs forever, and this guarantee is therefore given;" he concluded then his able report, with the following impressive language: "I will add, that the end proposed, is the happiness of the Indians—the instrument of its accomplishment—their progressive, and finally their complete civilization. The obstacles to success, are their ignorance, their prejudices, their repugnance to labor, their wandering propensities, and the uncertainty of the future. I would endeavor to overcome these by schools, by a distribution of land in individual right, by a permanent establishment, which should require the performance of social duties, by assigning them a country of which they are never to be bereaved, and cherishing them with parental kindness. In looking to the possible results of this plan, I am cheered with the hope, that much good may be effected with comparatively little injury. Our difficulties in their present form will be diminished or en-

tirely removed. The desire to acquire Indian lands will cease, and no longer produce collisions. The Indians will at last know their lot with certainty." I pause to inquire if these are not suggestions worthy of all consideration? But again in this same administration, twice or thrice was this subject pressed upon the attention of congress, and besides the able views of Thomas L. McKenny, agent of Indian affairs, which urged with peculiar earnestness, the adoption of the system, who has forgotten the memorable, because unriveled report of general Porter, Mr. Adams' last secretary of war? This luminous document seemed to put the question at rest, satisfied the doubtful, confirmed the wavering, and lent fresh energy to the decided. Since that period, we have had nothing to contend with but the miserable selfishness of political aspirants and the sinister influences they have put in operation, not so much to defeat the plan, as to promote the reachings of ambition. They care not for the Indians: they want the ageney of the strong sympathy which their helpless condition inspires, to destroy the fair fame of one among the best patriots of this or any other age, and who unfortunately stands in the way of their restless designs. Hence the unfortunate scene we behold to-day—men whose avocations should have lead them away from political strifes, have lent themselves as willing instruments to the projects of heartless demagogues, and under the misguided zeal of suffering ignominy for "conscience sake," and thereby arouse and increase that same public sympathy, they have wooed and won, the fond object of their wishes. Wonderful infatuation! It was greatly to have been hoped, under the sensible and reflecting character of our institutions, the days of fanaticism in this sober country had long since been numbered.

Though the policy of colonizing the Indians originated with president Monroe, was ably supported by his secretary Mr. Calhoun, was approved by his successor, Mr. Adams, and as vigorously defended by his secretaries Messrs. Barbour and Porter, yet when president Jackson signified his approbation of this generous work, and really attempted nothing more than the execution of what he conceived had been already begun and put in progress by his predecessors, then behold, it was an act of barbarity, an outrage upon the faith of treaties, and a violation of all law, human and divine! And persons lost to the obligations they owe to the laws of their country have been found so fatally deluded, as to believe they had the right to oppose all exertions employed by the government to effect this highly useful and favorite purpose. When all the circumstances attending this transaction are duly and fairly considered, it presents a subject to say the least of it, of the most astonishing weakness. Let it be recollected that the views of the government had met the decided recommendations of three presidents and three secretaries of war, had so far acquired the confidence of the people of the union as to have produced in its favor a public act of congress. That in obedience to this act, a better home had been offered to the Indians as well as full compensation for that which they should leave, supported in their journey thither, besides being supplied with many articles not only of comfort, but of property highly useful to them in their subsequent situations; furnished also with one year's provisions after their arriving at their new homes, and then forever thereafter to receive the constant protection of the general government. This is not all, they had assurance from the government, upon which they could rely, of a permanent settlement, such as no future collisions could disturb, far removed from all causes which could possibly thwart its civilizing operations; and what is still better for them, out of the reach of all these vicious influences that had heretofore so signally counteracted the effect of missionary labors. Apart from these striking advantages to them, we have seen in the views of the great statesmen already mentioned, that much was expected to the interest of the government in its relations of peace, commerce, union, and above all, in the discharge of a long deferred compact with the state of Georgia, which has been so procrastinated, as to produce a spirit of discontent, such as not only to impair the confidence of the state in the fidelity of the general government, but greatly to disquiet the repose of the Indians themselves. Are not these considerations enough to have induced a dutiful and orderly citizen, if not disposed to aid in such a benevolent object, at least to have restrained his opposition? But it seems they were not; a spirit of resistance and disobedience has been infused into the Indians by the white men of the nation; they have had political discussions preached to them, in which Georgia and its authorities have been most unspairingly reviled and abused. The missionaries themselves have had a public meeting, and resolved that they viewed a removal of the Indians over the Mississippi "*as an event to be most earnestly deprecated.*" The resentment of the Indians have been excited to the highest pitch by public and private harangues against the laws of the state, and against the president and government of the United States. Officers of every grade and character belonging to both governments have been insulted and calumniated in their councils and by their press; and when an attempt has been made by Georgia to remove this influence from among them, it has been met by the most decided and prompt opposition. The state has been defied, and a territory over which she has the exclusive jurisdiction, has been openly declared by these white men to belong to the Indians, and that they have a right to set up a government, not only independent of Georgia, but of the U. States. Nay, through this mutinous influence, a constitution and government has been formed, and lest we might not be sufficiently notified of its existence by the usual method of manifesto, they have dragged our citizens, before their tribunals, and inflicted disgraceful and cruel punishments, unknown to our own laws. Such have been the refractory and high handed measures of the nation, that Georgia has been at last compelled, as a measure of self-defence, to take the rule of a country to which, by the annals as well as public documents of the government, she has the most undoubted right, but which might have remained with the aborigines, if they could have contented themselves with their ancient usages and customs, and not have been seduced from their allegiance, by the ageney I have before described. It is for the contempt and disobedience of one of her necessary laws to put down this influence, that the individuals at the bar have been tried and convicted. At the last term, some of these individuals have been brought before me upon habeas corpus, and their discharge was sought upon the ground that the law of Georgia was unconstitutional. After the most deliberate investigation, preceded by long and able argument, that law was pronounced to be constitutional and in full force; consequently, such as could not bring themselves within its saving provisions, were bound over to take their trial at this court. There were, however, two who were considered agents of the general government, and on that account and by virtue of an exception found in the law in favor of such, were discharged. The obstinacy of their conduct, for really I can give it no other name, and the determination manifested still to exert their influence under the all pervading force of religion, to stimulate the Indians to a continued course of opposition against the wishes of the general government, as well as contempt for the authorities of Georgia, induced the governor to request the president to have them removed from their agency, so as to oblige them to comply with the Georgia law or leave the nation. Upon every principle of reason and propriety, there is nothing unjust or oppressive in this act. If officers of government set themselves up in opposition to the public acts; if they seek either by open or insidious means to counteract the policy of the government, to thwart its measures, use their office and influence to bring the higher authorities into contempt, by every thing that is sacred, they ought to be removed, and that as quick as possible. This was done, and the governor, still willing to afford an opportunity to obey the law or leave the nation, notified the parties they should still have time to make their election. What was their answer, "My own view of duty, (says one), is that I ought to remain, and quietly pursue my labors for the spiritual welfare of the Cherokee people, until I am forcibly removed. If I am correct in the apprehension, that the state of Georgia has no rightful jurisdiction over the territory where I reside, then it follows that I am under no moral obligation to remove in compliance with her enactments." Another individual replies, "I could not take the oath required of white men who live in her chartered limits, because I should then acknowledge the jurisdiction of Georgia over this country, which would be adverse to my opinion, and would essentially affect my usefulness as a missionary laborer among the Cherokees. My principles of action are founded on the word of God, and if in adhering "to the law and the testimony," and endeavoring to follow the examples of holy writ, my conduct is construed into an unjustifiable interference with political affairs, I cannot help it." Though this is a grave subject, one is almost induced to smile, and in the language of some of the counsel for the accused ask, if this be not the doctrine of *nullification*—can it be possible that we have come to this, that every man has a right to throw himself upon his original sovereignty, and obey just such laws as he pleases! I might safely concede that he has, but he must take care of the consequences, "if the law" be against him—and he has not physical strength to resist it to its overthrow, he may depend upon it he has taken a fatal and inconsiderate step. But I would suppose, giving my humble views of the "law and the testimony,"—that the governor had placed a proper construction upon both, when in addressing these individuals, he "put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work."—Tit. iii. 1. For he had reason to know, and his charity required him to act upon his knowledge, that people are "sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating another."—ib 3. What a pity it is this view could not have actuated the minds of all concerned. What a pity, the peaceful course of the Prince of Peace could not have been recollected in his mild reply to his disciple on the subject of that well known oppression of the Jews by Cæsar Augustus. Mat. xvii. 27. Luke ii. 1, and xx. 22.

I am willing to make all due allowance for the diversity of human opinion, in matters of government, as well as in religion—but I ask every candid man, what would be the consequence if every individual were allowed to judge for himself, whether he would obey the laws or not, especially after they had been pronounced by the only competent tribunal to be constitutional? If these individuals have the right to do it, all the rest in the community have; and what I repeat, would be the consequences? Anarchy and confusion, and then what becomes of the examples of "holy writ?" Wherein we are required to "submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." And why? "For, that with well doing, ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men—as free and not using your *liberty* for a *cloak* of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." Pet. ii, 13, 14, 16.

I hope that no just government, acting within the pale of its authority, will ever require any of its citizens to proceed upon any "principle of action not founded upon the word of God," for it may safely trust that "word," especially when it enjoins upon the citizen, "to keep the king's [state's] commandment, and that in regard to the oath of God, be not hasty to go out of his sight, *stand not in an evil thing*, for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him what doest thou?" Eccl. viii. 2, 3, 4.

One of these individuals replied to the governor, that "if I suffer in consequence of continuing to preach the gospel, and dif-

fuse the word of God amongst this people, I trust I shall be sustained by a conscience void of offence." Now in this speech there is all manner of unkindness, and the meekness that directs "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," would have required a more ingenuous answer. It was not for preaching the gospel, that the governor wished him either to remove or "suffer." As the executive power of the state, solemnly sworn to execute the laws, he only informed the individual that there was a law which required all white men, without distinction—for laws to be just must be equal—residing in the nation, to take an oath to support the constitution of the state, or to leave the territory; and he was doubtless very hopeful that this person's scriptural reading, as well as his love of the gospel, would have reminded him that "every soul must be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resisteth shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power?" Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. The governor seems to have suspected that there were some of the good citizens of Georgia who felt themselves "under no moral obligation" to respect the "enactments" of the state, by reason of their apprehending that she had "no rightful jurisdiction over the Indian territory"—he therefore warned them that as the executioner of the law, "he beareth not the sword in vain," and would consequently be compelled as "a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore (he advised them) ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." There is in every part of the moral and pious community of the United States, but especially at the north, an unusual anxiety to colonize another description of people in this country, whose condition is better than that of the Indians; and yet, strange to tell, the same object attempted for this declining race, by some of the best and wisest patriots of the age, backed by the patronage of the whole government, under much more favorable auspices, meets with the persevering opposition of this same community. This is either strange inconsistency, or the colonizing of Africans speaks one thing, while it means another.

To my mind, and I would feign believe to every dispassionate man, there is no good reason for rushing upon the severe penalty of this law, and foolishly defying its consequences. It cannot be excused upon any principle of sound religion or a rational and discreet desire to serve the cause of piety, for surely that religion which requires us to "render tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor," never could demand such resistance to the laws of the land, as would incur in the delinquent a forfeiture of all the enjoyments of liberty, and impose in their stead all the hardships of an ignominious slavery. I do exceedingly regret that the warning voice of this court, at its last session, of the governor, of the law, and I would add with great reverence, of God himself, had not induced these individuals to pause before they plunged themselves into such a reckless calamity. Both governments have been deeply engaged in the work of removing the Indians, for causes they need never to be ashamed of avowing; and before God and man, if they are sincere in the motives which impel them to this undertaking, they are rendering the only atonement in their power for the long suffering of a much injured people, and such, in my humble opinion, as high Heaven itself will own and bless. To prevent then the accomplishment of a work so desirable, is not only presumption, of the highest character, against the sages who planned it, but is cruelty to the Indians, ingratitude to the country, and what is worse than all, seems when persisted in, to involve a consequence with which no prudent man should dare to trifle.

The eleven persons against whom sentence was pronounced, were brought to this place by the sheriff of Gwinnett county, on Thursday last. Nine of them were pardoned, after giving assurances that they would not again violate the laws. But two of the missionaries, Messrs. Worcester and Butler, declining to give any such assurance, and appeared not disposed to profit by the executive clemency, which would have been extended to them, in common with the others, if they had given such assurances, were committed to the penitentiary. Subjoined is the governor's letter to the inspectors of the penitentiary and their answer.

—

Executive office, 22nd Sept. 1831.

Gentlemen—I understand that a number of persons have been lately convicted in Gwinnett county, for illegal residence in the territory occupied by the Cherokees within the state, and will very soon be placed within the penitentiary, unless they should be considered proper subjects for the exercise of the executive clemency. As it is possible that some of these persons may have committed the offence of which they have been convicted, under mistaken opinions of their own duty, or of the powers of the government, I am desirous of pardoning such of them as may have thus acted, and will now give assurances, that they will not again violate the laws of the state; if they should be found worthy of such clemency.

You are requested to see each of the prisoners, and converse with them alone, and ascertain from them whether they are disposed to promise not again to offend the laws if they should be pardoned. You are also requested to ascertain as accurately as you can, what has been the general character of each of the convicts, and the motives which have influenced them in their opposition to the authority of the state.

The result of your enquiries and conversation, you will oblige me by communicating as early as convenient. Very respectfully, yours, &c. GEORGE R. GILMER.

Messrs. James Camak, Benj. A. White, Tomlinson Fort, inspectors of the penitentiary.

Penitentiary, 22nd September, 1831.

Sir—In compliance with your request of this date, we met at the penitentiary, and investigated the cases of each of the individuals brought from Gwinnett, separately. Enclosed, we send statements of James J. Trott—Samuel Mays (No 1), Edward Delosier (No. 2), Surry Eaton (No. 3), Thomas Gann (No. 4), A. Copeland (No. 5),—You will find also, a written petition in favor of S. Mays, enclosed in No. 1.

We have personally examined Benjamin F. Thompson, James A. Thompson, and John F. Wheeler. The above persons all request your clemency, on condition that they will not again violate the law. They are stated by Mr. Trott and Mr. Butler, to be respectable, honest citizens.

With regard to Mr. Butler, he authorises us to state, that he could not take the oath of allegiance to the state, without perjuring himself, as he views the case—he cannot consent to a change of residence with his present feelings.

Mr. Worcester states, that he has taken the course he has pursued, from a firm conviction of duty—if he had been disposed to submit, he would not have proceeded so far—he has applied to the supreme court, and expects to hear from his application.

Mr. Wheeler states that his family is within the chartered limits, and that he intends to return there, but will not subject himself to another arrest. Respectfully, your obedient servants,

BENJ. A. WHITE,
JAMES CAMAK,
TOMLINSON FORT, } *Inspectors.*

—

The convicts. The rev. Mr. Potter, a missionary to the Cherokees, who recently passed through this city, informs us that he saw Messrs. Worcester and Butler, a few days ago in the penitentiary at Milledgeville. He says they are cheerful and happy. This we expected. We have often read of others devoted to the same pursuits, inspired with the same sentiments, singing and rejoicing amidst the flames that devoured them. We are glad, however, to learn, that they are treated with even the respect due to citizens and clergymen. They were equipped in the coarse uniform of the prison, with the usual badges of criminals attached. One of them is employed in making bedsteads, and the other in turning a large wheel—grinding, like Samson, in his prison house.

Putting them to the hardest labor in the prison, accords with the instructions of gov. Gilmer, to inflict upon them the penalty of the law in its utmost severity. But it should be remembered that these subjects of Egyptian oppression have been mostly accustomed to sedentary pursuits. Their minds, it is true, are trained to severe labor and strenuous exertion; but their bodies, and even the health of one of them, are on that very account comparatively delicate and feeble. To the barbarity of their treatment, under such circumstances, must be added the violent deprivation of their liberty; their confinement within the narrow limits, and foul, gloomy precincts of a prison; their being associated with thieves, robbers and murderers; and the wicked attempt to brand their memories forever with the name and infamy of criminal convicts. On this latter point, however, Georgia is mistaken. She has got in her own hand the hot end of the branding iron, and her mad cupidity is inflicting on herself a mark of disgrace which will dishonor her name till the sun's self shall be blotted from the heavens. Already is public indignation stamping its ban upon her conduct; we had almost said, upon her forehead. [*Washington Spectator.*

CENSUS OF 1830.

From the New York Observer.

Washington, Sept. 26, 1831. Messrs. Editors—I have obtained from one of the principal clerks of the state department, a friend of mine, the following condensed account of the census, which, he says, in this complete form has not been published. The whole will not be finished till submitted to the next congress.

1830.	*Free white persons.*	*Free colored persons.*	*Slaves.*	*Total.*
Maine	398,255	1,207		399,468
New Hampshire	268,910	623		269,533
Vermont	279,794	885		280,679
Massachusetts	603,008	7,006		610,014
Connecticut	289,624	8,064	23	297,711
Rhode Island	93,631	3,565	14	97,210
New York	1,868,382	45,080	46	1,913,508
New Jersey	300,226	18,307	2,246	320,779
Pennsylvania	1,309,296	37,990	386	1,347,672
Delaware	57,605	15,829	3,305	76,739
Maryland	291,093	52,942	102,878	446,913
Virginia	694,439	47,103	469,724	1,211,266
North Carolina	472,433	19,575	246,462	738,470
South Carolina	257,678	7,915	315,665	581,458
Georgia	296,614	2,483	217,407	516,504
Alabama	190,171	1,541	117,494	309,206
Mississippi	70,618	529	65,659	136,806
Louisiana	89,407	16,753	109,631	215,791
Tennessee	537,930	4,513	142,379	684,822
Kentucky	518,678	4,816	165,350	688,844
Ohio	928,093	9,586		937,679
Indiana	338,020	3,562		341,582
Illinois	155,176	1,653	746	157,575
Missouri	114,552	546	24,986	140,084
Arkansas	25,667	138	4,578	30,383
Michigan	30,848	253	27	31,128
Florida	18,385	840	15,500	34,725
Columbia	27,635	6,163	6,060	39,858
Total	10,526,368	319,476	2,010,572	12,856,407